A NEW HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

DESCENT of the ROMANS,

TO THE

DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO

His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

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HISTORY *is philosophy teaching by examples.*
Bolingbroke *from* Dion. Hali.

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THE
History of ENGLAND.

The HISTORY *of* EDWARD I. *continued.* A. D. 1292.

IMMEDIATELY after Easter, Edward made a progress through Suffolk, Norfolk, and several other counties, and on the second day of June arrived at Berwick, where the prelates and nobility of both kingdoms were assembled, with the commissioners appointed to examine the claims of the different pretenders to the Scottish throne.

At the first meeting of the assembly the ambassadors of Norway appeared, and de-

manded the crown for their maſter as heir to his own daughter Margaret the late queen; and his claim was admitted among thoſe of the other candidates, after the envoys had, in their king's name, recognized Edward's right of ſuperiority over Scotland.

The king conſidering that the diſcuſſion of ſo many claims at once, would neceſſarily be attended with endleſs diſputes and diſquiſitions, and prevent the matter from being brought to a ſpeedy concluſion, propoſed that they ſhould begin with the pretenſions of Brus and Baliol, without prejudice to the other competitors, which ſhould be afterwards examined; but as the commiſſioners could not agree about the laws and cuſtoms by which they ſhould decide the controverſy, Edward adjourned the aſſembly to the fourteenth day of October, when it was unanimouſly reſolved that they ſhould determine the queſtion by the laws and cuſtoms pevailing in the king's dominions; and that the kingdom of Scotland ſhould be conſidered as an indiviſible fief.

Then Brus and Baliol were deſired to produce whatever they had to urge in defence of their reſpective claims, which they now endeavoured to ſupport by various arguments and allegations. Theſe being fully

fully conſidered, Edward reduced the whole controverſy to the following queſtion; whether the grandſon of the eldeſt, or the ſon of the ſecond daughter, ought to be preferred? To this the commiſſioners unanimouſly replied, that the preference was due to the former.

In conſequence of this deciſion, Edward pronounced the claim of Robert de Brus to be defective; and then deſired them to examine the pretenſions of the other competitors, who were now aſked if they had any thing further to ſay in behalf of their ſeveral claims. John Haſtings pretended that Scotland as a fief was diviſible, and therefore ought to be ſhared among the three deſcendants of David earl of Huntington, whoſe youngeſt daughter was his mother. In this propoſal he was joined by Robert de Brus, who being balked in his attempt upon the whole kingdom, now put in his claim for a third part of it, as ſon and heir of David's ſecond daughter.

Edward again put the following queſtion to the commiſſioners; whether or not Scotland was an indiviſible fief? and they anſwering in the affirmative, he adjourned the aſſembly to the ſeventeenth day of the month, when all the other competitors having withdrawn the claims, he pronounced that John Haſtings and Robert de

Brus had no right to any ſhare of the kingdom of Scotland, inaſmuch as it could not be divided.

Baliol being now the only candidate was declared king of Scotland, though Edward reſerved to himſelf and his ſucceſſors the right of aſſerting their own pretenſions, whenever they ſhould think proper. Orders were immediately diſpatched to the guardians of the kingdom, and the governours of caſtles to deliver them into the hands of Baliol, who ſwore fealty to Edward, acknowledging his ſuperiority over Scotland in the moſt expreſs and ſubmiſſive terms.

Soon after he was crowned at Scone with the uſual formalities; and all the noblemen of Scotland took the oath of allegiance to him, except Robert de Brus, who, piqued at his late diſappointment, abſented himſelf from this ſolemnity; then he repaired to Newcaſtle upon Tyne, where he did homage to Edward in ſuch a manner as ſtrongly ſhewed his abſolute dependance upon the Engliſh monarch.

Edward was either ſo fully convinced of his right of ſuperiority, that he thought he might ſafely exerciſe it upon all occaſions, or, perhaps, conſcious of the weakneſs of his title, he wanted to confirm it by ſome act of ſovereignty. During his abode

BALIOL King of Scotland

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

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abode at Newcaſtle, a burgher of Berwick complained to him of an injury he had received from ſome Engliſh commiſſioners who had been ſent to Scotland; and he ordered the cauſe to be tried by his own judges in England.

The Scottiſh council, alarmed at this invaſion of their privileges, ſent ſome of their members to remind him of the ſolemn promiſe he had made, that he would never evoke any cauſe from the courts of Scotland into thoſe of England. Edward replied, that this affair was of ſuch a peculiar nature, that he could not allow it to be tried before any judge but himſelf, inaſmuch as it did not become vaſſals to puniſh the miſdemeanours of thoſe who repreſented the perſon of their ſovereign.

Mean while, to prevent the like complaints for the future, he ſent a declaration to the Scottiſh council, importing, that if, during the vacancy of their throne, he had made ſome temporary promiſes, he had taken care to perform them with the utmoſt punctuality; but that now they had a king of their own, he did not mean to confine himſelf to ſuch reſtrictions, nor relinquiſh his right of hearing and deciding all affairs that concerned their kingdom at any time and place he ſhould think proper.

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He repeated the same declaration at his own court in presence of Baliol and many noblemen of both nations, adding, that he would send for the king of Scotland into England, as often as he should judge his presence necessary or expedient. These words he spoke with so much warmth and with such a resolute and determined air, that Baliol, being entirely in his power, was afraid to make any reply, or expostulate with him on the subject.

But this shadow of a king was soon obliged to submit to another mortification; for, in a few days, Edward compelled him to renounce by letters patent, for himself and his successors, all promises, grants, and ratifications made by the king of England, during the vacancy of the Scottish throne; and to approve of whatever he had done in that period. In return, however, for this concession, he relinquished by a public writing, all other right but that of homage to the kingdom of Scotland; as well as all claim to the wardship of minors, and the power of disposing of them in marriage.

It was not long before Edward gave a fresh proof of the resolution he had formed to exercise his sovereignty over Scotland in the most full and extensive manner. A merchant of Gascony having presented

preſented a memorial, in which he complained that the new king of Scotland refuſed to pay him a certain ſum of money due to him by his predeceſſor Alexander, Edward ſummoned Baliol to appear in perſon, and anſwer the charge of the plaintiff before his court at Weſtminſter.

In about eight days after, he ſent Baliol another ſummons, in conſequence of a petition he had received from Macduff earl of Fife, who had been impriſoned for ſeizing ſome lands unjuſtly, and now appealed to the king of England for redreſs.

In the month of June he received a third citation upon the following occaſion; while Edward reſided at Newcaſtle, he had ordered Walter de Huntercombe, governour of the Iſle of Man, to put Baliol in poſſeſſion of that iſland, and theſe orders were accordingly executed. Soon after, a lady named Auſtriga, claimed poſſeſſion of of the iſland as heir at law; and her pretenſions being rejected at the Scottiſh court, ſhe had recourſe to the king of England, who now ſummoned Baliol to appear before him, and even ordered the ſheriff of Northumberland to notify the ſummons before witneſſes.

In a few months after, he was a fourth time cited: David, king of Scotland, had formerly granted to the monaſtery of Reading,

ing, in England, a priory which held of the biſhopric of St. Andrew's. This priory was afterwards alienated by the abbot of Reading, in favour of the ſee to which it had belonged; but a ſucceeding abbot, alledging that the alienation had been made without the conſent of the monks, preſented a petition to the king, deſiring it might be reſtored. The biſhop being informed of this application, appealed to the pope, and his appeal was admitted at the court of Scotland. The abbot complained of this ſtep taken by the Scottiſh monarch, who accordingly was ſummoned to appear before Edward fifteen days after Martinmas.

In the courſe of the following year, he received a freſh citation to repair to London, and anſwer to a charge brought againſt him by the biſhop of Durham, to whom he had refuſed to deliver up the caſtles of Hadington and Berwick.*.

From ſuch a number of citations upon the moſt ſlight and frivolous occaſions, and the bare complaints of individuals, Baliol plainly perceived that Edward intended to treat him rather as a ſlave than a vaſſal; but as he was unable, at preſent, to throw off the yoke, and recover his independence, he was obliged to obey theſe

* A. D. 1294.

theſe orders, and anſwer to the crimes that were laid to his charge.

Buchanan pretends that it was by meer accident that Baliol happened to be preſent at the Engliſh court, when the earl of Fife preferred his complaints againſt him; but other hiſtorians affirm, that he came thither in obedience to the ſummons he had received from Edward.

Be that as it will, certain it is he appeared in that auguſt court, and was forced to undergo the moſt diſagreeable mortifications.

When he was accuſed of having unjuſtly impriſoned the earl of Fife, he begged leave to anſwer by proxy; but that favour was refuſed him, and he ſtood at the bar as a private ſubject. He then alledged, that as the affair for which he was now called to an account concerned the honour of his crown, he could not give an anſwer until he ſhould have conſulted his ſubjects; but this plea was over-ruled, and the parliament deſired that three of his ſtrongeſt caſtles ſhould be ſeized by the king, and kept until he ſhould make full and ample reparation to the plaintiff.

Baliol, reduced to this dilemma, was obliged to acknowledge the ſovereignty of Edward over Scotland, and petition for time to conſult his own parliament. His requeſt

requeſt was granted, and a day being fixed for his appearance, he returned to his own country, glowing with reſentment at the indignity that had been offered to his character, and reſolved to embrace the firſt opportunity of recovering the liberty and independence of his kingdom; which, he imagined, he ſhould be able to accompliſh with the greater eaſe, as a rupture had lately happened between France and England.

This was occaſioned by a trifling quarrel between a few mariners of each nation, which furniſhed Philip with a pretext for ſummoning Edward to the French court, to anſwer for the hoſtilities which the Engliſh had committed againſt his ſubjects. Edward, afraid of an approaching war, which, at preſent, he was extremely deſirous to avoid, ſent John de St. John to ſecure the dutchy of Guienne; and, at the ſame time, diſpatched his brother Edmund, earl of Lancaſter, to Paris, to try if he could poſſibly accommodate the difference in an amicable manner.

A private treaty was accordingly concluded for a marriage between Edward and Margaret of France, daughter of the late king Philip the Hardy.

By the articles of this contract it was provided, that if there ſhould be a ſon by this

this marriage, he ſhould, after his father's death, enjoy Guienne for himſelf and the heirs of his body; and if he ſhould die without iſſue, or upon the extinction of his race, whenever that ſhould happen, the country ſhould revert to the crown of England.

As it was impoſſible to perform theſe articles without giving a new feofment of the dutchy to Edward for life, and for the uſes ſpecified after his deceaſe, it was neceſſary that Philip ſhould have ſeiſin of the whole province, in order to qualify him for beſtowing that feofment. The contract of marriage being ratified and confirmed by Edward, and Philip having promiſed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would faithfully adhere to all the ſtipulations contained in the agreement, the earl of Lancaſter ſent orders to the governours of Guienne to put him in poſſeſſion of the whole dutchy; and theſe orders were immediately carried into execution.

After it had continued forty days in his cuſtody, he was required to make reſtitution, and give feofment together with a ſafe-conduct for Edward that he might come over and complete the marriage; but Philip refuſed to perform any one article of the treaty; and though the citation

which was ſent to Edward had been formally revoked, he was nevertheleſs commanded to anſwer perſonally in the court of France, and upon his non-appearance was declared contumacious, and judgment given againſt him by default. Philip, however, conſcious of the irregularity of his proceedings, did not think proper to put the ſentence in execution; but, on the nineteenth of May, he iſſued another ſummons, requiring Edward to appear at Paris in three weeks after Chriſtmas.

Edward, enraged at the treachery of Philip, was ſo far from obeying his ſummons, that he preſently renounced the homage he had formerly paid him, and reſolved to recover, by force of arms, the territories of which he had been deprived in ſuch a baſe and diſhonourable manner. With this view he formed alliances with his own ſons-in-law, Henry count of Barre, and John duke of Brabant; Amadeus count of Savoy; Adolphus of Naſſau, king of the Romans; the archbiſhop of Cologne; the counts of Guelderland and Catzenellenbogen, and ſome noblemen of Burgundy, who promiſed to invade thoſe provinces of France that lay neareſt to their dominions; while Guy, count of Flanders, engaged to make a diverſion on that ſide; and he himſelf began

to

to equip a fleet for the tranſportation of his forces.

In order to enable him to defray the expences that muſt neceſſarily attend ſuch a powerful armament, the merchants of England and Ireland agreed to an additional duty upon all the merchandize that ſhould be exported during the continuance of the war; the prelates and clergy indulged him with a moiety of all their revenues for one year; the parliament granted an aid, amounting to a tenth of all their effects; and the king iſſued commiſſions for levying a ſixth part of moveables in all the cities, boroughs, and towns of the royal demeſnes.

But all theſe meaſures, however well concerted, were rendered ineffectual by a number of untoward circumſtances. John duke of Brabant was killed by the ſtroke of a lance, at a tournament in his own court; the noblemen of Burgundy were prevented from making the intended invaſion, by Humbert, dauphin of the Viennois, who had engaged in the ſervice of Philip; he received no aſſiſtance from his German allies, though moſt of them had been gratified with conſiderable ſums of money; Guy, count of Flanders, was ſummoned to Paris on an appeal to the parliament, and

his perſon taken into cuſtody; ſeveral thouſand priſoners, conſiſting of robbers, and other criminals, who had been pardoned by Edward, on condition of ſerving in this expedition, deſerted before their embarkation; and his paſſage was interrupted by contrary winds, from Midſummer to the beginning of September, when his attention was diverted to objects of a more immediate concern, and a more domeſtic nature.

The Welch, though loaded with no greater taxes than what were impoſed upon the Engliſh, conſidered even theſe as an intolerable grievance; and hearing that Edward was upon the point of embarking for the Continent, where he would probably be detained a conſiderable time, they thought this a proper opportunity to ſhake off the Engliſh yoke, and attempt the recovery of their liberties. Accordingly the king's commiſſioners had no ſooner begun to levy a fifteenth, which had been lately granted, than they flew to their arms, and, ſeizing Roger de Puleſton, and ſeveral other officers, hanged them outright, without form or trial.

This diſturbance was conſidered at firſt as no more than a ſudden eruption of popular fury, but it ſoon encreaſed to ſuch a degree that

that the rebels over-ran the whole country, and murdered all the Engliſh who fell in their way.

Theſe revolters were headed, in South-Wales, by one Morgan; in Weſt-Wales, by Maelgun Vaughan; and in North-Wales, by Madoc, a near relation of their late prince Llewellyn. Morgan being joined by the moſt powerful of the neighbouring barons, drove the earl of Glouceſter out of the country; Maelgun ravaged the counties of Cardigan and Pembroke; and Madoc, taking the advantage of a fair in Caernarvon, ſurpriſed the town, took the caſtle, and afterwards made himſelf maſter of Snowdun and Angleſey.

Edward, appriſed of theſe hoſtilities, ſent the earls of Lancaſter and Lincoln, with a good body of forces, to ſuppreſs the rebels; but, when they had advanced as far as Denbigh, they were attacked by the Welch, and entirely defeated.

The king, afraid of loſing the only conqueſt he had ever made, reſolved to march againſt the enemy in perſon; and his preſence produced an immediate change in the face of affairs. The Welch, though they fought with ſurprizing bravery, were worſted in ſeveral engagements, and compelled to retire to the mountains of Snowdun,

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whither they were instantly pursued by Edward, in the depth of winter.*

Madoc, flying before the king, returned to the Marches, where he gained some petty advantages; but at last, being routed with the loss of the best part of his forces, on the hills near Caurs-castle, he submitted to Edward, and was sent prisoner to the Tower of London. Most of the Welch barons, seeing no other means of saving themselves from utter destruction, followed his example, and were committed to close custody in different castles. The rest of the rebels were indulged with a pardon; but Edward swore, that, if ever they should presume to raise another rebellion, he would extirpate the whole race without mercy.

He continued, for some time longer, in the country, until he had rebuilt the castle of Beaumaris, cut down the woods in the inland parts, and erected some fortresses on the sea-coast; and then returned to London, about the latter end of July.

Morgan was still in arms in the county of Glamorgan, which he held of the earl of Gloucester, who, by his haughty and overbearing behaviour, had rendered himself so odious to the natives, that they refused to own his superiority, though they offered to submit,

* A. D. 1295.

ſubmit, if they might be allowed to hold their lands immediately of the crown of England. They were accordingly gratified in this particular, laid down their arms, ſwore fealty to the king, and gave hoſtages for their good behaviour.

Edward, when he engaged in the Welch expedition, had ſent a body of forces to Guienne, under the command of his nephew, John de Bretagne earl of Richmond, John de St. John formerly ſeneſchal of that province, Robert de Tibetot, and other experienced officers.

After having been detained at Dartmouth, by contrary winds, from Michaelmas to the end of October, they at laſt arrived at the mouth of the Garonne, and, ſailing up the river, were readily admitted into Blaye and Bourg, paſſed by Bourdeaux poſſeſſed by the conſtable de Neſle, and landed at Rions, the inhabitants of which, as well as thoſe of St. Macaire, opened their gates to the Engliſh.

Being thus become maſters of the Garonne, both above and below Bourdeaux, they were at once enabled to ſtraiten that city, and extend their quarters along the Dordogne, as far as St. Emilion and Bergerac, where they were joined by almoſt all the noblemen of the country.

John

John de St. John, at the head of a ſtrong body of troops, reduced Bayonne, Sordes, and ſeveral other towns and caſtles; and his party being daily reinforced by great numbers of Gaſcons, who flocked to his ſtandard, he advanced to St. Sever, which he took on the ſeventh day of April.

By this time Charles, count de Valois, brother to the French king, had marched into the heart of the country, at the head of a numerous army; and, after taking Podenſac, laid ſiege to Rions, which was defended by John de Bretagne and Robert de Tibetot, with a ſtrong garriſon; but, notwithſtanding this circumſtance, they reſolved to abandon the place; and the citizens were ſo incenſed at their intention of leaving them to the mercy of the enemy, that they raiſed an inſurrection. Charles giving the aſſault in the midſt of this confuſion, entered the place without oppoſition, and, among other priſoners, took a good number of Engliſh knights, who had not time to get on board of the ſhipping.

From thence Charles advanced to St. Sever; and John de St. John, unable to oppoſe him in the field, retired to Bayonne, after having ſecured the place with a ſtrong garriſon, under the command of Hugh de Vere. This nobleman defended the place with the moſt undaunted courage and reſolution,

lution, and repulſed the French in ſo many aſſaults, that their army was reduced to the moſt wretched condition; but, at length, his proviſions being entirely exhauſted, he was obliged to ſurrender, after having obtained a promiſe of indemnity for the inhabitants, and liberty for the garriſon to march out with their baggage, horſes, arms, and all the honours of war.

The French had ſuffered ſo ſeverely in the ſiege of this place, that they were altogether unfit for any other enterpriſe of importance during the remaining part of the campaign; and accordingly Charles, having left a ſtrong garriſon in the town, returned to France with the ſhattered remains of his army; but, as it will always be found impoſſible to defend a large city when the inhabitants are diſaffected, he had no ſooner retired, than St. Sever was re-taken by the Engliſh.

But if the French were unſucceſsful by land, they were almoſt entirely ruined at ſea. The fleet of the Cinque-Ports ſcoured the channel, and diſtreſſed their trade in ſuch a manner that there was hardly a ſingle ſhip of that nation, which would venture to quit their harbours.

At the ſame time Edward fitted out a fleet of his own ſhips; and, dividing it into three ſquadrons, gave the command of one

of

of them to John Boutetourt, whom he appointed admiral from the mouth of the Thames to the north of England; the ſecond, joined to the fleet of the Cinque-Ports, was entruſted to William de Leyburn, who had the charge of the coaſt from that river ſouth to Portſmouth; and the third was committed to the care of an Iriſh nobleman, who commanded in the weſt, and had power over all the ſhips that belonged to Ireland. Of all theſe diviſions, the firſt did the greateſt execution; making deſcents upon the coaſt of Normandy, where they burned Cherbourg and ſome other places, and ravaged the adjacent country.

In order to revenge theſe inſults, Philip equipped a fleet of three hundred ſhips, which, under the command of Matthew de Montmorency and John de Harcourt, infeſted the Engliſh coaſts, and even ſurpriſed Dover; but this was a conqueſt which they were not long able to maintain; the militia of the country ruſhed in upon them in ſuch numbers, and attacked them with ſuch fury and impetuoſity, that, after ſetting fire to the town, they were obliged to retire to their ſhips, with the loſs of more than five thouſand men.

The intention of the French king, was to get poſſeſſion of ſome place on the coaſt that lay convenient for the debarkation of troops,

troops, as he had already formed a design of invading England with a powerful army.

With this view he had engaged in a league offensive and defensive with Baliol king of Scotland, to be cemented by a marriage between Edward, son to that prince, and Jane, daughter of Charles de Valois. At the same time he had contracted with Eric, king of Norway, for two hundred gallies, half that number of transports, and fifty thousand land-forces, for which he was to pay an annual subsidy of thirty thousand pounds; but whether Philip was unable to remit the stipulated sum, or Eric could not furnish the troops he had promised, this treaty was never carried into execution.

He had likewise engaged an English knight, named Thomas de Turbeville, who had been taken in Rions, to raise an insurrection in Glamorganshire; that, while the kingdom was involved in civil discord and dissension, he might land his troops with the greater facility.

This man, on his arrival in England, pretended that he had escaped from a French prison; and, applying to the ministry, undertook to discover the secret designs of the enemy. On the strength of these promises, he was admitted to several private conferences with Edward and his council,

council, of which he made no other use than to inform Philip of every particular that could facilitate the execution of his project; but, in the midst of this villainous correspondence, he was happily detected, by means of his secretary, and condemned to suffer the death of a traitor.

The king being now fully apprised of the designs of Philip, resolved to provide against the impending danger, and, with this view, convoked a parliament, to which the cities and boroughs were ordered by writs to send representatives, a privilege which they had never enjoyed before this period.

In this assembly he demanded a supply for prosecuting the war against France; and accordingly the military tenants granted an eleventh of their rents, the boroughs a seventh of their movables, and the clergy a tenth of their revenues.

The pope had interposed his good offices for effecting a peace, or at least a truce, between the two nations; and two cardinals had arrived in England, with proposals for an accommodation, to which, however, Edward would not agree without the consent of his allies on the Continent: nevertheless he sent ambassadors to Cambray, to assist at the conferences which were begun under the mediation of the legates, who exerted their utmost

utmoſt efforts, in order to reconcile the contending parties; but all their endeavours proved ineffectual.

Edward, who had little hopes of the ſucceſs of this negociation, fitted out a fleet of three hundred and fifty-two ſail, for tranſporting an army of ſeven thouſand foot and a body of horſe, led by twenty-ſix bannerets, under the command of his brother Edmund earl of Lancaſter, and Henry de Lacey earl of Lincoln.

Setting ſail from Plymouth, about the middle of January,* they landed in the beginning of March at Blaye and Bourg, on the river Garonne, where, being ſoon joined by a number of Gaſcons, they made themſelves maſters of Caſtillon, l'Eſparre, and ſeveral other caſtles, and at laſt encamped within a league of Bourdeaux, which was ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the enemy.

Towards the latter end of March, the garriſon made a general ſally, in hopes of ſurprizing the Engliſh, who, immediately taking the alarm, and decoying the enemy, by a feigned retreat, to a conſiderable diſtance, ſuddenly wheeled about and attacked them with ſuch fury and impetuoſity, that, after having killed about two thou-

* A. D. 1296.

ſand of them on the ſpot, they purſued the reſt to the gates of Bourdeaux.

But, notwithſtanding this advantage, Edmund, conſcious of his own inability to reduce the place by a regular ſiege, withdrew his forces from that neighbourhood, and, after having ſubdued Langon, and recovered St. Macaire, advanced to Bayonne, where about the middle of May he died of a lingering diſtemper. Upon his death the earl of Lincoln ſucceeded to the command of the army, which, during the remaining part of the campaign, was chiefly employed in petty ſkirmiſhes and ſlight excurſions, without performing any action of importance.

Mean while Edward had received information of the treaty lately concluded between Philip and Baliol, the laſt of whom had, by the intereſt of his ally, obtained from pope Celeſtine an abſolution from the oath of fealty he had taken to the Engliſh monarch.

The king had, at the very commencement of the war with France, required Baliol, together with Robert de Brus and the earls of Marche and Buchan, to ſend him ſuccours, as vaſſals to the crown of England, in which kingdom they were all poſſeſſed of eſtates; but no regard was paid to theſe orders,

orders, nor did Baliol, though ſummoned, attend the Engliſh parliament.

He then commanded Baliol to put him in poſſeſſion of the caſtles of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburg, as a ſecurity for his peaceable behaviour during the continuance of the French war; but this demand was flatly rejected.

Deſirous, however, as he was of being fully certified of the intentions of the Scottiſh king, he ſummoned him and his nobility to attend a parliament which was convoked at Newcaſtle upon Tyne; but they neither obeyed the ſummons, nor ſent any excuſe for their non-attendance.

Edward convinced, from all theſe concurring circumſtances, of the hoſtile deſigns of Baliol, reſolved to attack him before he ſhould have time to put his kingdom in a poſture of defence. With this view he commanded his military tenants to meet him at Newcaſtle, with horſe and arms, and diſpatched orders into Wales and Ireland, to levy forces for the ſame purpoſe.

Mean while Baliol, being determined upon an open rupture, ſent a letter to Edward, in which he complained of the many injuries he had received at his hands, and renounced his homage and fealty to the Engliſh crown.

At the same time, Robert de Ros, lord of Werk, revolted to the enemy; but his castle was secured by his brother William, for the use of the king of Engand.

William, being apprehensive of a siege, which, in his present condition, he would have been little able to stand, applied to Edward for a small body of troops to reinforce his garrison, and a thousand men were accordingly detached for that purpose; but these were attacked in their march by Robert de Ros, at the head of a party of Scottish forces, and entirely defeated.

Edward being informed of this act of hostility, advanced with his whole army, amounting to upwards of thirty-five thousand men, and encamped at Werk, from whence he proposed to invade Scotland after the Easter-holidays.

Mean while an army of Scots, consisting of four thousand foot and five hundred horse, under the command of the earls of Buchan, Monteith, Strathern, Lennox, and several other noblemen, entered England, where, after having ravaged the country, and attempted in vain to reduce Carlisle, they returned into Scotland, in order to make head against the English monarch.

Edward, crossing the Tweed at Coldstream on the twenty-eighth day of March, laid siege to the town of Berwick; and the

the fleet of the Cinque-Ports ſailing up the river with too little caution, were ſuddenly attacked by the enemy, and after a deſperate engagement, were obliged to retire with the loſs of three of their ſhips, which were ſet on fire. The king obſerving the ſmoke of the burning veſſels, ordered the aſſault to be given; and the Scots were ſo confounded at the intrepidity of the beſiegers, that they threw down their arms, in conſequence of which the Engliſh entered the place without oppoſition, and maſſacred above ſeven thouſand men, women and children.*

Edward having thus made himſelf maſter of Berwick, detached the earl of Warenne,

* The Scottiſh hiſtorians alledge, that Edward was repulſed in ſeveral attacks, and ſucceeded at laſt only by a ſtratagem; that he drew off his forces as if he intended to abandon the ſiege, and had procured ſuch banners and enſigns as were commonly uſed by the Scottiſh kings and nobility; that he ordered his ſoldiers to wear St. Andrew's croſſes in imitation of the Scots; that then returning ſuddenly, he ſent before him a party of the Buſſian faction, to acquaint their countrymen that king John was coming to their aſſiſtance with a numerous army; and that the inhabitants and garriſon, believing the information, ran out in crouds to meet their ſovereign, but their retreat being cut off by a detachment, the Engliſh ſeized the gates, and entered the town without oppoſition. *Abercromby.*

renne, with a ſtrong body of forces to beſiege the caſtle of Dunbar, which had been delivered into the hands of Baliol by the counteſs of Marche, who, though her huſband was in the ſervice of England, was warmly attached to the intereſt of her country.

The garriſon for ſome time made a vigorous defence; but at laſt being hardly preſſed by the beſiegers, they promiſed to ſurrender in three days, if they ſhould not be relieved within that period. On the third day Baliol appeared at the head of forty thouſand men, with an intention to raiſe the ſiege; but the earl of Warenne attacked them with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that the Scots were entirely routed, and fled beyond the Forth, leaving all the ſouthern parts of the kingdom to the mercy of the Engliſh. The garriſon of Dunbar being thus deprived of all hopes of aſſiſtance, ſurrendered at diſcretion; and their example was ſoon followed by the caſtles of Jedburgh and Roxburgh.

By this time Edward having received a reinforcement of five and forty thouſand men from Wales and Ireland, directed his march northward, and, after having reduced the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling, arrived at Perth without meeting with any oppoſition. Baliol, finding himſelf unable

able to check the progreſs of the Engliſh arms, reſolved to make his ſubmiſſion; and this he did in the church-yard of a place called Strickathroe, where he appeared meanly mounted upon a ſorry horſe with a white rod in his hand before Edward, who received him with the utmoſt contempt.

He then acknowledged his error in having made a league with the king of France againſt his liege lord, whom he now entreated to forgive him for his folly; and renounced his French alliance in the name of himſelf, his ſon Edward, and all the ſubjects of Scotland.

This ſubmiſſion was drawn up in a formal inſtrument, and ſigned and ſealed by all the nobility who were then preſent; and, in order to render the deed ſtill more authentic, Baliol was obliged to repeat it in the caſtle of Brechin, where he reſigned his perſon, crown, dignity, and private eſtates into the hands of Edward, who ſent him and his only ſon under a guard to England. The great ſeal of Scotland was now broken, as being entirely uſeleſs; and another was made with the Engliſh arms, and committed to the care of Walter de Agmondeſham.

From Brechin Edward continued his march to Elgin in Murray, propoſing to make

make a progreſs through all the northern ſhires; but finding the country in perfect tranquillity, and not the leaſt ſymptom of oppoſition appearing, he returned to Scone, from whence he carried off the famous ſtone chair on which the Scottiſh kings were wont to be crowned; and this circumſtance, however trivial, contributed more than all his victories to throw the Scots into that ſtate of deſpair and liſtleſs deſpondency, which for a long time continued to poſſeſs their minds; for the chair was univerſally believed to be the palladium of their government; and the loſs of it was conſidered as an indubitable proof of the utter extinction of their monarchy.* At the ſame time he cauſed all the

* This ſtone, which was incloſed in a wooden chair, had been placed at Scone by Kinneth II. as a monument of the victory which he obtained over the Picts, near the monaſtery of that place. The vulgar believed it to be the ſame that ſerved Jacob for a pillow. It had been brought out of Spain into Ireland by Simon Breccus, from Ireland into Argyle, and from thence to Scone, from which place Edward now cauſed it to be conveyed to Weſtminſter. On it was engraved the following diſtich:

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare, tenentur ibidem.

Or fate's deceived, and heaven decrees in vain,
Or where they find this ſtone, the Scots ſhall reign.

Camd.

the records of the kingdom to be removed or deſtroyed, that the people might have nothing to revive the memory of their former independence.

Having thus made himſelf entire maſter of Scotland, he returned to Berwick, where he ſummoned the prelates, nobility, freeholders, with the deputies of the royal boroughs, and other communities of the kingdom, who renounced the late confederacy with France, did homage for their lands, ſwore fealty to the king of England as their liege lord and ſovereign, and appended their ſeals to an authentic deed containing the manner and terms of their ſubmiſſion.

Then he appointed Hugh de Creſſingham treaſurer, William de Ormeſby juſticiary, Henry de Piercy warden of Galloway, and John de Warenne earl of Surre, guardian of Scotland; and having thus ſecured the tranquillity of the kingdom in the beſt manner he could, he diſbanded his forces, and returned to the ſouthern parts of his dominions, attended by John Cumin of Badenogh, and other Scottiſh noblemen, whom he thought proper to detain as hoſtages for the good behaviour of their countrymen, until the war with France ſhould be brought to a concluſion.

As the expences attending the Scottiſh expedition, and the ſupport of the war in Gaſcony had entirely drained the king's coffers, he now convoked a parliament at St. Edmundſbury, where he obtained a large ſubſidy from the laity; but when he applied to the clergy for the ſame favour, they abſolutely refuſed to comply with his requeſt, alledging, that by a late bull of pope Boniface, they were ſtrictly forbid to grant ſupplies to princes without the permiſſion of his holineſs, and that all ſovereigns were prohibited from levying ſuch ſubſidies on pain of ſubjecting themſelves to the higheſt cenſures of the church.

This bull had been procured by the intereſt of Robert de Winchelſey, archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the concurrence of the Engliſh clergy, in order to ſcreen them from all kind of taxes. Edward, equally ſurprized and enraged at this peremptory refuſal, adjourned their meeting till the fourteenth of January,* hoping that when they had conſidered his propoſal in a more cool and deliberate manner, they might poſſibly come to a better reſolution.

Mean while, Florence count of Holland, Zealand, and Frieſland, having been lately

* A. D. 1297.

lately murdered by his own ſubjects, was ſucceeded in theſe territories by his ſon John, who, as he had been educated in the court of England, propoſed to marry Elizabeth the king's daughter. The propoſal was readily accepted, and the nuptials were celebrated at Ipſwich with great pomp and ſolemnity.

At the ſame time Guy count of Flanders, being releaſed from his priſon in Paris, renewed his treaty with Edward, who promiſed to give him a ſubſidy of twenty-five thouſand pounds, in conſideration of which Guy engaged to invade France with a numerous army, and to beſtow his daughter Philippa upon prince Edward.

The other allies, whom he had ſecured in his intereſt, were ſtill willing to perform their engagements; but as they expected, in return, to be gratified with the ſtipulated ſubſidies, which at preſent he was in no condition to pay, he waited with impatience for the next meeting of the clergy, from whom he hoped to receive ſuch a ſupply as would ſufficiently anſwer all his neceſſities.

But in this expectation he was greatly diſappointed; for at their next convocation, the archbiſhop of Canterbury told the king's deputies in the name of his brethren,

thren, that they had two superiors, the pope and the king; and though they were bound to obey both, yet they owed the more implicit obedience to the former.

This was a doctrine which Edward could by no means digest. He plainly perceived that should this maxim be allowed to prevail in its utmost extent, it must end, at last, in the total subversion of the civil government, and the utter extinction of the royal authority; and he therefore resoved to crush it in embryo, and to extort from the prelates by meer force, what he could not obtain by more gentle means.

With this view he ordered the wardens of the Cinque-Ports to allow no person to quit the kingdom without a licence from his majesty; then he caused a declaration to be made in all his courts of justice, depriving the clergy of his royal protection, and seized all their lay-fees, goods and chattels; but this rigorous measure was confined to the province of Canterbury, because the clergy of York had already granted the king a fifth of their revenues, and obtained a writ of protection.

The recusants were now in a most wretched condition; their effects were seized, and their revenues sequestered; they were rendered incapable of suing at law for

for the recovery of the rights they had loſt, or the redreſs of the injuries they had ſuſtained, while they themſelves were expoſed to ſuits, and all manner of outrages and indignities; not daring to appear in public, without running the riſk of being inſulted by every abandoned villain, who ſometimes abuſed their perſons, and ſtripped them of their money, with equal wantonneſs and impunity.

Theſe violent meaſures made no impreſſion upon the obſtinate mind of Winchelſey: he ſtill reſolved to execute the pope's bull, which he now cauſed to be publiſhed in all the churches of his province, and convoked a ſynod of his ſuffragans at St. Paul's in London; but Edward iſſued a writ, by which they were prohibited from making any conſtitution to the prejudice of the king, his miniſters, or faithful ſubjects; and Ither de Engouleſme, archdeacon of Bath, appealed, in the king's name, to the pope, againſt any ſteps they might poſſibly take; a precaution which put an effectual ſtop to their further proceedings.

Thus deprived of all their effects, which were ſolemnly confiſcated by a parliament of the nobility, and precluded from all hopes of relief, except from the court of Rome, to which they could not apply, they were at laſt obliged to ſue for protections;

but these they could not obtain, without large fines, amounting to much more than the original fifth they had been required to give. With this condition, however, hard as it was, they were forced to comply; and were then restored to the possession of their goods and chattels, and re-admitted to the benefit of the law.

But all the money arising from these compositions, was not sufficient to answer the king's purposes; and he now had recourse to an expedient equally unjust and odious. He seized, and sold for his own use, great quantities of wool and leather, which had been bought up by the merchants for exportation;* and exacted two thousand quarters of corn, besides other provisions, from every county in the kingdom, for the maintenance of his troops in Gascony. This arbitrary and despotic measure, might have shaken the throne of a weaker prince, tho' it only occasioned some general complaints under Edward.

But however submissive the commons were, he found that the barons were still possessed

* Mr. Carte, according to his usual principles of slavery and despotism, is pleased to represent this measure as very excusable, if not entirely justifiable. What pity it is that he himself was not one of the merchants, that so he might have had an opportunity of manifesting his loyalty as well by his actions as his words!

poſſeſſed of that unconquerable ſpirit of independence which had ſo often oppoſed the the tyranny and uſurpation of his predeceſſors.

As he was firmly reſolved to proſecute the war againſt France with the utmoſt vigour, he now convoked a parliament at Saliſbury, in order to aſcertain the exact number of troops which every baron ſhould furniſh for the expedition.

His intention was to make a powerful diverſion in Guienne by his ſubjects, while he himſelf ſhould attack the enemy on the ſide of Flanders; but all the nobility diſcovered an extreme reluctance to ſerve in any place where the king did not command in perſon.

Every one excuſed himſelf from going to Guienne, though he readily offered to furniſh his quota of troops for the ſervice. Edward, provoked at their excuſes, threatened to give their lands to others, who would obey his orders with greater ſubmiſſion.

The barons were highly incenſed at theſe menaces: they were far from thinking that their lands were at the diſpoſal of the king: Humphry Bohun earl of Hereford, great conſtable of the realm, and Hugh Bigod earl of Norfolk, great mareſchal, told him plainly they were willing to attend his ma-

jeſty, but would not ſerve, except where he himſelf ſhould be preſent. The mareſchal added, that he was ready to lead the van of the army under his ſovereign, according to the duties of his office, but would not obey any other commander, nor go to Guienne, unleſs in his company.

The king, enraged at this declaration, exclaimed with a furious tone, "By the "eternal God! you ſhall either go or "be hanged." Norfolk replied, with equal vehemence, "By the eternal God! "I will neither go nor be hanged;" and he and Hereford inſtantly withdrew from parliament, attended by a ſtrong party of armed followers, and fully determined to maintain their privileges, and circumſcribe the royal prerogative within its proper bounds.

Accordingly, they had no ſooner reached their own eſtates, than they expelled the king's officers who were employed in collecting the duties on wool and leather, and forbade them to ſet foot upon their lands again, on pain of being deprived of life and limb.

Edward had ſeen, in the reign of his father, ſuch repeated proofs of the courage and reſolution of the barons in defending their rights and privileges, that he did not chuſe to hazard his reputation upon

upon the iſſue of a war with his own ſubjects: beſides, ſuch a quarrel at preſent would have diverted him from his favourite object of taking vengeance on the king of France, and fulfilling his engagements with his ally the court of Flanders, who preſſed him to come over to the Continent with all poſſible diſpatch; he therefore thought it moſt adviſeable to conceal his reſentment againſt the conſtable and mareſchal, whom, nevertheleſs, he ſoon found means to turn out of their places.

He ſummoned his nobility, and all poſſeſſed of twenty pounds a year, to meet him at London on the firſt of July, provided with horſe and arms, in order to attend him to the Continent. Among others, the earls of Hereford and Norfolk were commanded to appear by ſpecial mandates.

Hereford obeyed the order, but the mareſchal excuſed himſelf on pretence of ſickneſs, and deputed John de Seagrave in his ſtead. In a council which was held upon this occaſion, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that a proclamation ſhould be publiſhed for muſtering the forces next day at St. Paul's; and though this taſk properly belonged to the conſtable and mareſchal, they refuſed to perform their duty; in conſequence of which, the king deprived them of their

posts, which he bestowed upon Thomas de Berkley, and Geoffry de Geyneville.

The earls published a manifesto containing a vindication of their conduct, and complaining of the intolerable load of taxes with which the nation was burdened, the poverty of the subject, the infringement on franchises, the violation of the Magna Charta, and the neglect of the assize of the forest.

Edward, conscious that these complaints were but too well founded, was so prudent as to answer this memorial: he excused the taxes laid upon the people for the support of wars, in which he had been unavoidably engaged for the glory and interest of the nation, and the recovery of his just rights; and he assured them, in the most solemn manner, that he would redress their grievances, and reform the abuses of government, immediately after his return from abroad; but should he happen to die in that expedition, he conjured them to preserve their fidelity and allegiance to his son Edward.

At the same time, as he knew that the discontented earls could raise no considerable disturbance without the concurrence of the clergy, he took care to reconcile himself to the archbishop of Canterbury, to whom, and Reginal de Grey, he committed

mitted the care of the young prince and the regency of the realm.

Winchelſey, and ſome of his ſuffragans, deſirous of effecting an accommodation between the king and the diſcontented earls, propoſed a conference at Waltham, to which place Hereford and Norfolk ſent Robert Fitz-Roger and John de Seagrave as their proxies, excuſing their not appearing in perſon, as they did not think it conſiſtent with their ſafety. In order to remove this objection, they were indulged with ſafe-conducts; and a new meeting was appointed; but they neither came themſelves, nor ſent any meſſage.

Edward, afraid that this rupture might be attended with ſome fatal conſequences, releaſed Ralph de Monthermer, who had married Jane counteſs of Glouceſter, without the conſent of the king her father. He had been impriſoned in the caſtle of Briſtol for that offence; but was now ſet at liberty, and inveſted with the honour of Glouceſter, that he might over-awe the earl of Hereford, and be ready to cruſh him immediately, if he ſhould attempt to raiſe any commotions in the Welch marches.

Edward having thus provided for the tranquillity of the kingdom, embarked at Winchelſea for Flanders on the twenty-

ſecond

ſecond of Auguſt, and that very day the earls of Hereford and Norfolk came to the bar of the Exchequer, attended by ſeveral knights and bannerets; where, after having complained of the eighth lately granted by the boroughs, and the duty and price of wool as intolerable grievances, they ſtrictly charged the barons from levying the eighth without the king's knowledge; and inſiſted upon an immediate redreſs of the other hardſhips with which the nation was oppreſſed.

This eighth had been granted by the cities, boroughs, and towns of the royal demeſnes, without the conſent of the earls, barons, knights, and commons of the realm, and therefore the earls refuſed to comply with it, as a thing which tended to the diſheriſon of them and their heirs. Edward, who was ſtill detained at Winchelſea by contrary winds, being informed of this remonſtrance, ordered the barons to publiſh a proclamation, importing that the grant of the eighth ſhould never be made a precedent for impoſing the like taxes in time to come; that though the emptineſs of his Exchequer, and the preſent ſituation of public affairs, had obliged him to ſeize upon the wool, he would take care to indemnify the proprietors; and that he would never have recourſe

to

to ſuch odious and unpopular methods of raiſing money for the future.

Theſe aſſurances contributed, in ſome meaſure, to appeaſe the clamours of the people, who, nevertheleſs, could not help condemning Edward for embarking in a foreign expedition at ſuch an unſeaſonable juncture, when the Scots were beginning to concert meaſures for ſhaking off the Engliſh yoke, and recovering their former independence.

The earl of Surrey, guardian of Scotland, unable to bear the ſeverity of the climate, had retired to the North of England; and ſeveral Scotchmen, who had never acknowledged the ſuperiority of Edward, thought this a proper opportunity for retrieving the liberty of their country. In this attempt they were headed by William Wallace, the younger ſon of a gentleman who lived in the ſouth-weſt parts of the kingdom.

He was a perſon of gigantic ſtature, incredible ſtrength, undaunted courage, and invincible reſolution. The Scottiſh hiſtorians repreſent him as an accompliſhed hero, the Engliſh as a common robber and outlaw; and theſe accounts, however different and contradictory, may be eaſily reconciled. Wallace had never owned the ſovereignty of Edward over Scotland, and therefore thought

thought he might juſtly commit depredations upon the enemies of his country.

The Engliſh, on the other hand, imagined that Edward's ſuperiority over that kingdom was well founded, either in ancient cuſtom, or, at leaſt, in modern conqueſt, and of conſequence they might naturally conſider Wallace as a rebel who diſturbed the preſent government, and plundered their eſtates without provocation. He might very probably have been outlawed by the adminiſtration; as indeed all thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to the Engliſh yoke, were ſubjected to this ſevere puniſhment.

This rigorous and impolitic meaſure was chiefly owing to the advice of Ormeſby the juſticiary, a man of a haughty and tyrannical diſpoſition, who, inſtead of alluring the Scots into a ſubmiſſion by ſoft and gentle means, endeavoured to frighten them into a compliance by meer dint of force and terror. He had rendered himſelf ſo odious and unpopular by theſe cruel proceedings, that a party of Scots, under the command of Wallace, now attempted to ſurpriſe him at Scone, where he commonly reſided. His perſon indeed eſcaped, though not without great difficulty; but all his effects were ſeized, and the whole adjacent country was left as a prey to the enemy, who, being ſoon after reinforced by a body of troops under

under Sir William Douglas, began to grow formidable to the government.

In order to prevent the revolt from becoming more general, the biſhop of Carliſle, and ſome lords of the Marches, ſummoned Robert de Brus, the younger, to come to that city and renew his fealty to Edward; and he not only obeyed this ſummons, but even ravaged the lands of Douglas in his return.

Edward being appriſed of this commotion, ordered the earl of Surrey to aſſemble the militia of the northern counties, and ſuppreſs the revolters, who had already paſſed the border, and began to ravage the country. The earl being old and infirm, ſent his grandſon Henry de Piercy, and Robert de Clifford, with an army of three hundred horſe and forty thouſand foot, into Annandale, where they came upon the Scots unawares, who, being greatly inferior in point of number, and divided in their ſentiments about the courſe they ought to purſue, were obliged to capitulate, and promiſed to give hoſtages for their good behaviour.

The ſpirit of diſcord and diſſenſion in the Scottiſh army was ſo great, that Richard de Lundy went over to the Engliſh with all his followers; and Robert de Brus, who, with James Steward of Scotland, had joined

his

his countrymen, was to deliver his daughter as a pledge of his fidelity.

In the mean time the earl of Surrey, at the head of the Yorkſhire militia, had advanced into Scotland againſt William Wallace, who lay with his forces advantageouſly poſted on a hill, above the monaſtery of Cambuſkenneth, in the neighbourhood of Sterling. There was no poſſibility of coming at the Scots, without paſſing the Forth, and this could only be done by a narrow wooden bridge, which would not admit above two men a-breaſt. Richard de Lundy repreſented the great danger of ſuch an attempt, and offered to ford the river with a ſmall party, and keep the enemy in play, until the whole army ſhould have effected a paſſage.

But this prudent propoſal was rejected at the inſtance of Hugh Creſſingham the treaſurer, a man of a haughty, arrogant, and overbearing diſpoſition, who preſſed the earl to paſs the river, and attack the enemy without delay; and Warenne was ſo piqued at his invidious ſuggeſtions, as if he meant to protract the war, that he inſtantly ordered his forces to march along that wooden convenience.

Wallace allowed about half the army to paſs unmoleſted, and then deſcending from the hill, attacked them with ſuch irreſiſtible

reſiſtible fury, that they were all cut in pieces or drowned in the Forth. Hugh Creſſingham, and about five thouſand Engliſh, fell in the action; nor was there a ſingle perſon that eſcaped, except Marmaduc de Twenge, and a few truſty followers, who bravely cut their way through the enemy, and ſwimming acroſs the river, rejoined the earl of Surrey.

Warenne finding himſelf unable to maintain his ground in Scotland, committed the caſtle of Stirling to the care of de Twenge, and then retired to Berwick, whither he was immediately purſued by Wallace and his colleague Andrew Murray, at whoſe approach he quitted the place, which they entered without oppoſition; though they could not take the caſtle.

From thence they advanced into England, and after an unſucceſsful attempt upon Carliſle and Newcaſtle, they continued to ravage the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland for a whole month, without meeting with the leaſt interruption.

Wallace had rendered himſelf ſo famous by his late exploits, that his followers had choſen him regent, or guardian of the realm. He had, in the ſpace of a few months, recovered all the towns and caſtles which the Engliſh poſſeſſed in Scotland, defeated their general, and invaded

their country, from whence he carried off such a large booty as effectually freed the Scots from the apprehensions of famine with which they were threatened, through the long continuance of the war.

The loss which the militia of the northern counties had sustained in the battle of Stirling, rendered it necessary to send them a reinforcement from the middle and southern parts of the kingdom; but none of those who were in the interest of the constable and mareschal would engage in this service.

The archbishop of Canterbury, and other prelates, who were more concerned for preserving the public tranquillity, than gratifying the humour either of the king or the nobility, persuaded prince Edward to accommodate the difference with Hereford and Norfolk; and accordingly writs were issued on the ninth of September, for summoning these two noblemen, together with eight lords of their party, seven bishops, and twenty-three other prelates, to repair to London on the thirtieth of the same month, to deliberate with the prince on the present state of affairs; and a parliament was assembled on the sixth of October for confirming the two charters, agreeable to the king's promise in his late declaration.

The

The conſtable and mareſchal appeared at the time and place appointed, with an armed body of five hundred horſe, and a great number of infantry, and not only inſiſted upon the confirmation of the two charters, as part of the common law of England, but alſo obtained a ſtatute, ordaining that no talliage nor aid ſhould be impoſed in the kingdom, without the conſent of parliament; that no corn, wool, leather, nor any other kind of goods ſhould be ſeized for the future on any pretence whatſoever; that the new tax of forty ſhillings upon every ſack of wool ſhould be remitted; and that a general pardon ſhould be granted to the conſtable and mareſchal, John de Ferrers, and all their adherents.

In return for theſe conceſſions, the nobility and clergy granted ſupplies for the defence of the kingdom; and Hereford and Norfolk, with all the reſt of their party, engaged to march into Scotland, or to go over to Flanders, to ſerve according to the king's direction.

Theſe articles being ratified and confirmed, Edward ſent orders to the two earls, and the other nobility of England, to attend him at York, with horſe and arms, on the twentieth day of January, that they might be ready to undertake

expedition into Scotland. A parliament being assembled on the fourteenth of the same month, he summoned all the lords of the kingdom to obey the former order, on pain of incurring the penalty of high-treason; and authorised the bishop of Carlisle to grant the king's peace to Robert de Brus and all his followers, who should be willing to come to this assembly.

Edward's expedition to Flanders had not been attended with that success which the great preparations he had made, and prudent measures he had taken, gave him reason to expect. Philip had formed an alliance with the king of Castile and Arragon.

The count of Bar, one of the allies of England, who attacked Champagne, tho' at first he obtained some petty advantages, was, at last, obliged to surrender at discretion to Jane, queen of France and Navarre, who sent him prisoner to Paris.

Adolphus of Nassau, and the duke of Austria were bribed by Philip to desert the cause of Edward; and the dukes of Brabant and Luxemberg, with the counts of Guelderland and Beaumont, soon followed the same dishonourable example.

Philip having thus weakened his enemy, immediately entered Flanders, and laid siege to the city of Lisle; while Guy, unable to oppose his progress, persuaded the

the duke of Juliers to make a diverſion in his favour. Againſt this general Philip ſent a ſtrong body of forces under the command of the count D'Artois, who meeting him in the neighbourhood of Furnes, attacked him with ſuch impetuoſity, that the duke's army was entirely routed, and himſelf left dead on the field of battle.

Guy was ſo diſpirited by this loſs, that he durſt not ſtir from Ghent until the arrival of Edward, who came at laſt, but with a body of forces little proportioned to the greatneſs of the undertaking. At his entry into Bruges and Ghent, he found both theſe cities in the utmoſt confuſion, occaſioned by the diſſenſions of two different parties, one of which was in the intereſt of France, and the other in that of Guy; and while he was employed in compoſing theſe differences, Philip reduced Liſle, Douay, Courtray, and ſeveral other towns in the neighbourhood.

Then he advanced to Bruges, which he entered without oppoſition; and formed a deſign for burning the Engliſh fleet which rode at anchor in the harbour of Damme; but this plot was happily defeated by the imprudence of the count de Valois, who being entruſted with the execution of the project, betrayed the ſecret, in conſequence

of which the English ships put to sea, and avoided the danger.

Edward's measures were entirely disconcerted by the treachery of his allies. He could place but little dependance upon the count of Flanders, the greatest part of whose subjects were attached to the French interest; his own troops were too weak to cope with Philip in the field; and the late commotions in Scotland rendered his presence necessary in his own kingdom.

In this delicate conjuncture, he applied to the king of Sicily and the count of Savoy, who generously interposed their good offices, in order to effect an accommodation between him and Philip. Conferences were immediately begun, and a truce was made at Fismes on the ninth of October, to be in force only till the seventh of December; but it was afterwards continued for two years longer, and the terms of a general peace were referred to the judgment of the pope, to whose decision both princes agreed to submit.

This was accordingly concluded on the twenty-seventh day of June,* when Boniface annulled the contract of marriage between prince Edward and Isabel, daughter of the count of Flanders; and ordered that prince to

* A. D. 1298.

to marry Iſabel, daughter of Philip the Fair, and the king his father to eſpouſe Margaret of France, Philip's ſiſter. The depredations committed before the commencement of the war were ordered to be repaired on both ſides; and all the places which Edward and Philip poſſeſſed in each other's dominions, were ſequeſtered into the hands of the pope, until all the differences between them and their reſpective allies, who were comprehended by name in the treaty, ſhould be finally accommodated.

Mean while, the earls of Surrey, Hereford, Norfolk, Glouceſter, Arundel, and moſt of the other Engliſh noblemen met in a parliament at York; but as the Scots, though ſummoned to that aſſembly, did not think proper to attend, the militia were appointed to rendezvous at Newcaſtle by the latter end of January, in order to undertake an expedition into Scotland.

There they aſſembled about two thouſand men at arms, twelve hundred light horſe, and an infinite number of foot, with which they marched to the relief of Berwick and Roxburgh, which the Scots had long inveſted, but now abandoned at their approach.

They had propoſed, at firſt, to penetrate into Scotland, and give battle to the enemy; but

but as the ſeaſon was far advanced, they diſmiſſed all their forces, except fifteen hundred choſen horſe, and about twenty thouſand foot, with which they reſolved to wait at Berwick, until the king ſhould arrive in England.

Edward having landed at Sandwich on the fourteenth day of March, proceeded directly to London, and reſtored the citizens to the enjoyment of all their franchiſes, particularly the right of chuſing their own mayor, He then iſſued commiſſions for enquiring into the grievances of the people, and ordered a parliament to meet at Carliſle, where the Scottiſh nobility were ſummoned to attend, on pain of incurring the penalties of high-treaſon.

But as they neither appeared in perſon, nor ſent an apology, he reſolved to reduce them by force of arms, and with that view appointed his troops to rendezvous at Roxburgh, by the twenty-fifth day of June.* There he

* The Scottiſh hiſtorians pretend that Edward, on his firſt arrival, collected a vaſt number of raw and undiſciplined troops, with which he advanced againſt Wallace, who had already penetrated as far as Yorkſhire, but obſerving the good order and determined reſolution with which they expected his approach, he thought proper to retire without venturing a battle, until he ſhould have levied an army, upon which he could place a more firm dependance.

he muſtered three thouſand five hundred men at arms, four thouſand light horſe, and about eighty thouſand infantry, with which he invaded Scotland by the weſt border, and penetrated into the heart of the country, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. He had ordered his fleet to ſail along the coaſt, and ſupply him with proviſions as he advanced; but the ſhips being detained by contrary winds, he was obliged to march a-croſs the country, in order to receive ſupplies from another ſquadron, which he had directed to enter the Forth, in caſe he ſhould find it neceſſary to come to the eaſtern part of the kingdom.

The Scottiſh hiſtorians alledge, that Wallace hovered on the ſkirts of the Engliſh army, and found means to cut off ſome of their detached parties; though theſe loſſes were more than compenſated by the reinforcements he received from Galloway and the

ance. The ſame authors alledge that Edward ſent a letter to Wallace, threatening him with the ſevereſt vengeance, and telling him that he durſt neither to have raiſed a rebellion in Scotland, nor preſumed to invade England, if he himſelf had not been abſent from the iſland; and that the Scottiſh guardian replied, it was not ſo baſe in him to take the opportunity of Edward's abſence to reſcue his country from ſlavery and oppreſſion, as it was in Edward to excite diviſions, in order to inſlave a free and independant people.

the lands of Robert de Brus, who, jealous of the guardian's glory, had deserted the cause of his country, and joined the king of England with all his followers.

Most of the Scottish nobility considered Wallace as an ambitious upstart, who, by his bold and successful exploits, reflected disgrace upon their timid and pusillanimous conduct; and all the men of interest and family, were either his secret or professed enemies.

He had, in conjunction with James Stuart and John Cumin, collected an army of thirty thousand men, and encamped near Falkirk, by the wale of Agricola. Edward directed his march thither, in order to bring them to a decisive engagement; and he found them already prepared to give him a warm reception. Their army was drawn up in three distinct divisions, each disposed in the form of a phalanx, and the intervals filled with archers; their horse were placed in the rear, and their front was fortified with wattled palisadoes.

The king having reconnoitred their position, ordered the charge to be sounded; and this was answered by the Scots with such a terrible shout, that Edward's horse, being startled, threw his rider, who is said to have broken two of his ribs by the fall. Not in the least disconcerted by this accident,

dent, he remounted his ſteed with his uſual agility, and commanded the Welch to begin the charge; but theſe refuſing to obey the order, either through treachery or cowardice, he put himſelf at the head of another battalion, and, the paliſadoes being plucked up, attacked the enemy with the moſt irreſiſtible fury.

Wallace that day fought on foot, and encouraged his men with the following laconic ſpeech: "I have brought you to the "king, and now run if you dare." But all his courage was unable to reſiſt the impetuoſity of the Engliſh, and the treachery of his own countrymen: in the very heat of the action, Cumin quitted the field with all the forces he commanded, in conſequence of which, the diviſion conducted by Stuart was inſtantly ſurrounded, and cut in pieces. But, notwithſtanding both theſe diſaſters, Wallace ſtill kept his ground, and maintained the fight with invincible obſtinacy, till, at laſt, his ranks being greatly thinned by the Engliſh arrows, and his ſmall party in the moſt imminent danger of being ſurrounded, he was obliged to abandon the field; and, by the favour of the night, effected a retreat with the ſhattered remains of his army, leaving a complete victory to Edward, and about twelve thouſand of his his men dead upon the ſpot; whereas the

loſs

loſs of the Engliſh was but very inconſiderable.*

After this ſignal advantage, Edward advanced to St. Andrews, and from thence to Perth, waſting the country without oppoſition. Then turning back, he marched through the foreſt of Selkirk, in order to beſiege

* Carte, who ſeems to delight in the marvellous, tells us, that the Scots are ſaid to have loſt in this action, about forty or fifty thouſand men, whilſt the loſs of the Engliſh did not exceed thirty common ſoldiers.

At this rate every Engliſhman muſt have killed between fifteen and ſeventeen hundred Scotchmen. Quere, could one man, in the ſpace of a few hours (for we can hardly ſuppoſe the battle to have laſted longer) kill fifteen or ſeventeen hundred, were even the others to expoſe their naked breaſts to his ſpear or arrows, theſe being the only weapons then in uſe; for fire-arms were not yet invented, ſo that whole ranks could not be mowed down by the diſcharge of a cannon, as ſometimes happens in the modern method of fighting.

Our later hiſtorians, ſenſible of the great improbability, if not the abſolute impoſſibility, of ſuch a diſproportion in point of number, have reduced the loſs of the Scots to twelve thouſand, and increaſed that of the Engliſh to one hundred; but even this account will hardly be believed by any but thoſe who are poſſeſſed of a large ſhare of credulity.

For our own part, we have obſerved in a former note, that the loſs of the conqueror is ſeldom known, and we think it is paying but a ſorry compliment to the reader to excite his wonder and admiration by offering an inſult to his underſtanding.

beſiege the caſtle of Air, which had been ſeized by young Robert de Brus, who now burnt it, and fled upon his approach. From thence he propoſed to paſs into Galloway; but as the fleet which he had appointed to attend his motions, on the weſtern coaſt, was not come up, he was obliged, for want of proviſion, to proceed through Annandale, where he took the caſtle of Lochmaban, and thence continued his route to Carliſle, where he convoked a parliament to ſettle the affairs of Scotland.

He had already beſtowed the iſle of Arran upon Thomas Biſet, who had brought a conſiderable body of troops from Ireland to his aſſiſtance; and he now diſtributed among his favourites, the eſtates of ſuch of the Scottiſh nobility as refuſed to ſubmit to his authority; but, before the meeting of the parliament, the conſtable and mareſchal, who were piqued at the arbitrary proceedings of Edward, aſked leave, on pretence of fatigue, to return to their reſpective eſtates; and Hereford died on the laſt day of the year. When the ſeſſion broke up at Carliſle, the king repaired to Durham, intending to have gone farther ſouth; but receiving intelligence that the Scots were beginning to collect their ſcattered forces, he paſſed his Chriſtmas at Tinmouth.

After the holidays he proceeded to London, where he aſſembled a parliament, in

which the pope's award between the crowns of France and England, was read and approved.* In the ſame aſſembly Edward confirmed the two charters, together with ſome other articles concerning the diſforeſting of lands; which, nevertheleſs, he paſſed with a ſalvo to the rights and prerogatives of his crown; an exception that gave great offence to the earl of Norfolk; but this nobleman was ſo much diſſpirited by the death of the conſtable, that he was fain to compromiſe his difference with the king, by ſurrendering all his eſtate (except about a thouſand pounds a year) together with the mareſchalſhip, into the hands of Edward, who, fully ſatisfied with this mark of condeſcenſion, reſtored him to the enjoyment of his office, and the greateſt part of his fortune.

The example of the mareſchal, was ſoon followed by Humphry VIII. earl of Hereford, ſon and heir of the late conſtable, who delivered all his lands and honours to his majeſty: but he recovered the poſſeſſion of all theſe upon his marriage with the king's daughter Elizabeth, upon this expreſs condition, however, that in the event of his dying without iſſue, they ſhould revert to the crown.

About

* A. D. 1299.

About the latter end of March two friars arrived from France, and demanded, in Philip's name, the enlargement of John Baliol, who, ever ſince his reſignation, had been confined in the Tower of London. Philip comprehended him in the number of his allies, and inſiſted upon his releaſe, by virtue of the late treaty, in which it was agreed, that the allies of each prince ſhould be ſet at liberty.

Edward pretended that Baliol was his vaſſal; that he had formerly renounced his alliance with France; and could not, therefore, be conſidered as one of Philip's allies. Philip replied, that the counts of Bar and Flanders, though his vaſſals, had been particularly mentioned in the treaties; and that the renunciation of Baliol could be no objection to his demand, inaſmuch as it was not voluntary, but the effect of mere compulſion.

But Baliol defeated all the good offices of the French king, by declaring, in preſence of the biſhop of Durham, conſtable of the Tower, and a public notary, that, while he ſat upon the throne of Scotland, he had found ſo much malice, fraud, treachery, deceit, and wickedneſs in the people of that kingdom, that he did not deſire to have the leaſt concern with them for the future,

The diſpute, at laſt, was referred to the arbitration of the pope, in conſequence of which Baliol was put into the hands of the biſhop of Vincenza, Boniface's nuncio at Witſand, near Calais, upon this expreſs condition, that his holineſs might take what ſteps he ſhould think proper, with regard to the perſon and Engliſh eſtates of the priſoner; but ſhould not, on any account, interfere in the affairs of Scotland, the ſettlement of which Edward reſerved entirely to himſelf.

Mean while the Scots began to recruit their ſpirits after their late diſaſter, Wallace conſidering that the jealouſy which the great men of the kingdom entertained of his power and popularity, was extremely prejudicial to the intereſt of his country, had, with a magnanimity truly great, reſigned the regency, and (like Cincinnatus of old) reduced himſelf to a private ſtation.

He was ſucceeded in that high office by Cumin, who hearing that a treaty was on foot between France and England, at Montreuil, under the mediation of the pope, ſent deputies to Philip, entreating that the Scots might be included in the pacification.

This favour he had the greater hopes of obtaining, as Edward was extremely deſirous of recovering Guienne, which at preſent

ſent he could hardly do, except by a negociation; but all that Philip could procure for the Scots was a truce for ſeven months. This, however, if we may believe the hiſtorian of that country, was ſo ill obſerved by the Engliſh, that the people, harraſſed and oppreſſed with continual injuries and inſults, were driven to deſpair, and reſolved to recover their liberty, or periſh in the attempt.

Cumin did not fail to encourage this ſpirit in the people; he aſſembled the barons of his party, to whom he repreſented the abject ſtate of ſlavery and dependence to which they were reduced, and the great eaſe with which they might retrieve their freedom during the winter, while Edward was at a diſtance, and their country was inacceſſible to the Engliſh forces.

Theſe remonſtrances produced the deſired effect. The barons, fond of liberty, and impatient of ſervitude, unanimouſly agreed to take up arms, and returned to their reſpective eſtates, in order to make the neceſſary preparations for carrying their deſign into execution. The ſecret was imparted to all the cities and boroughs in the kingdom, and, at the time prefixed, the whole nation roſe like one man againſt the Engliſh garriſons. It would have been

in vain to attempt to reſiſt the fury of an enraged and deſperate people; the garriſons were ſo prudent as to deſire leave to quit the kingdom, which was readily granted; and in a ſhort time the Engliſh were diſpoſſeſſed of all the places they had ſeized in Scotland, except a few ſtrong caſtles which the natives, for want of military engines, were unable to reduce.

Edward, who had juſt compleated his marriage with Margaret of France, was no ſooner informed of this inſurrection, than he ordered the militia of the northern counties to be aſſembled, and convoked a parliament at York, where he learned that the caſtle of Stirling was cloſely beſieged by the Scots, and in the utmoſt danger of being taken. As this was the moſt important fortreſs in the kingdom, he reſolved to march to its relief without delay; but when he had advanced as far as Berwick, the nobility declined the ſervice, on pretence that the roads in Scotland were altogether impaſſable in the winter ſeaſon. Thus checked, he was forced to abandon the enterprize, and ſend directions to the garriſon to ſurrender on the beſt terms they could procure.

In the parliament of York the two charters were confirmed; the biſhops were enjoined to renew their excommunications againſt

againſt all thoſe who ſhould violate theſe conſtitutions; and the ſheriffs were ordered to publiſh them four times a year in every county-court in the kingdom. The reaſon why theſe charters had been ſo ill obſerved, was owing to this circumſtance, that they contained ſeveral articles to the tranſgreſſion of which the common law had affixed no penalties.

In order to ſupply this defect, it was now decreed that three knights, or military tenants, ſhould be choſen in every county-court to ſee the charters duly executed, and puniſh the tranſgreſſors of theſe articles in a ſummary way, without the tedious forms of the common law; but not to take cognizance of any miſdemeanours for which the law had provided a remedy.

The ſtatute of Winton was likewiſe confirmed; and a new act was paſſed under the title of Articuli ſuper Chartas; ordaining that no goods or merchandize ſhould be ſeized without payment by the king's order, except ſuch as were neceſſary for his houſhold or wardrobe. This act likewiſe contained ſome regulations relating to treſpaſſes, contracts, debts, and pleas within the verge of the court; and provided a proper redreſs againſt falſe entries, ſeizures and waſte, too frequently committed by eſcheators.

At

At the same time a law was made allowing freeholders in every county to chuse their own sheriffs, except when that office was enjoyed by any person in fee, and by right of inheritance. Writs were issued for finishing the perambulations of the forests, that their boundaries might be irreversibly fixed; and all the adulterated pennies, of which great quantities had been surreptitiously imported into the kingdom, were cried down by public proclamation.

Mean while, Edward having levied a numerous army, began his march for Scotland about Midsummer, with a determined resolution to reduce that kingdom to an entire subjection.* When he had advanced as far as Galloway, he received a proposal from the Scottish barons, who offered to lay down their arms, provided he would release their king, and allow them to ransom their estates, which he had given to his favourites; otherwise they would defend themselves to the last extremity.

As he refused to agree to these terms, they drew together a great number of men without arms or discipline, hoping they should be able to harrass him in his march, and, perhaps, retard his progress; but he advanced with so much caution, that

* A. D. 1300.

that all their attempts proved ineffectual. They would willingly have retired upon his approach; but he purſued them with ſo much rapidity, that they were, at laſt, obliged to ſtand a battle, in which they were entirely defeated, though with little or no loſs; for they took refuge among their woods and moraſſes, through which the Engliſh, who were ignorant of the ſituation of the country, durſt not venture to purſue them.

The Scots finding themſelves unable to oppoſe the victorious arms of Edward, had recourſe to the court of Rome, to which they ſent ambaſſadors imploring the protection of the pope, and offering him the ſovereignty of the kingdom. Boniface, than whom a more ambitious pontiff never filled the papal chair, accepted the propoſal with great alacrity, and immediately diſpatched a bull to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom he ſtrictly enjoined to deliver it into the hands of Edward. Winchelſey, who was blindly devoted to the ſee of Rome, had no ſooner received the mandate, than he ſet out for Scotland, and finding the king in the abbey of Duſques, preſented to him the claim of his holineſs.

The bull contained a great number of objections againſt Edward's right of ſovereignty to the kingdom of Scotland; upbraided him with the cruelties and depredations he had

had committed in that unhappy country; and particularly with having impriſoned ſeveral biſhops, who were ſtill in cuſtody: it declared the pope to be the proper judge of the controverſy between the Scots and Engliſh; and commanded his majeſty to ſend ambaſſadors to Rome, with the neceſſary inſtructions, within the term of ſix months, at the end of which he would pronounce a final ſentence.

Edward was equally ſurpriſed and enraged at this haughty addreſs from his holineſs, whom, however, he was afraid to diſoblige, as the dutchy of Guienne was then ſequeſtered in the hands of Boniface.

Upon the firſt peruſal of the bull, indeed, he is ſaid to have ſworn, in a tranſport of anger, that, rather than ſubmit to the dictates of the pope, he would deſtroy Scotland from ſea to ſea. The Scottiſh deputies, who were preſent on the occaſion, were extremely alarmed at this terrible menace; yet, conſcious of that native dignity of ſoul which actuates every free-born Briton, they told him that ſuch a work would be attended with greater difficulty than perhaps he imagined; for there was not a Scot in the kingdom, who would not ſhed the laſt drop of his blood in defence of his country.

But, notwithſtanding this declaration, he had no ſooner conſidered the ſubject in a cool

cool and diſpaſſionate manner, than he judged it moſt adviſable to act with greater policy and addreſs. Accordingly he amuſed the archbiſhop with a general anſwer, importing, that, as this was an affair which concerned the rights of the crown, he could not come to a fixt reſolution, until he ſhould have taken the advice of his parliament; and, in the mean time, to ſhew his deference for his holineſs, he cauſed the biſhop of Glaſgow to be releaſed; returned to England, where he diſmiſſed his forces; and, in compliance with the deſire of the French king, agreed to a truce with the Scots, until Whitſuntide of the following year.

Edward was ſo much alarmed at the pope's pretenſions to the ſovereignty of Scotland, that he aſſembled a parliament at Lincoln, on the twentieth day of January,* to deliberate upon a proper anſwer to be returned to his holineſs. After the matter had been fully conſidered, it was unanimouſly agreed, that a letter ſhould be written to the pope, in the name of the barons of England, to the following effect; that the ſuperiority of Scotland had always been veſted in the crown of England; and that that kingdom, with regard to temporals, had never been ſubject to the ſee of Rome; that

* A. D. 1301.

that the parliament would never permit the king to submit his right to the decision of any foreign judicature, or to send ambassadors to Rome for that purpose, should he be ever so willing to gratify his holiness in this particular; they therefore desired he would not attempt to infringe the rights and prerogatives of the king, nor the liberties and privileges of the people.

This letter, which was signed by one hundred and four barons, was soon followed by another from the king himself, together with a memorial like that which had been produced in the assembly at Norham, to justify his claim to the sovereignty of Scotland. But with this difference; that whereas in the first he carried his right no higher than Edward the Elder; in this he derived it from Brutus, the first fabulous king of Albion, and traced it through all the fictitious reigns recorded in the romance of Geoffry of Monmouth.

Sensible, as he was, that these ridiculous fables would be utterly despised by the Scots, he yet imagined they might have some influence upon the pope and his Italians, who were not so well acquainted with the history of Britain.

The king's letter was couched in such modest and respectful terms, that Boniface could not possibly be offended at any single ex-

expreſſion it contained; a ſtrain of moderation which he would hardly have obſerved, had not Guienne been ſequeſtered in the hands of his holineſs. However, leſt Boniface ſhould imagine, that, by this letter, he had acknowledged his right to decide the diſpute, he took care to proteſt that he did not mean it as an appeal in a judicial form, but wrote it merely with a view to inform the pope's conſcience.

The king was not more intereſted in the ſuperiority of Scotland, than the people were in another important point, which now came to be conſidered. The perambulations of the foreſts had been made, by the king's commiſſioners, in every county of England; all perſons were deſired to bring in their exceptions, which were carefully examined and fully anſwered; and the inqueſts and returns being read and approved in this parliament, the king confirmed them on the fourteenth of February, by his letters-patent, declaring that the lands diſforeſted by theſe perambulations, ſhould continue ſo for ever; and the bounds now fixed to the foreſts, ſhould never be altered.

This deciſion, which put an end to an infinite number of expenſive ſuits, was ſo agreeable to the laity, that they granted the king a fifteenth for the ſupport of the

Scottiſh war; but the archbiſhop of Canterbury, at the head of the clergy, refuſed to give any aid without the pope's licence.

Winchelſey was blindly attached to the ſee of Rome, and a zealous defender of every papal pretenſion. He had excommunicated ſeveral of the king's officers, for exerciſing their right of judicature; he had inflicted the ſame cenſure upon ſeventeen monks of St. Auguſtine, and even committed them to priſon, for inſiſting on their privileges; he arrogated to his own courts the cognizance of lay-fees, even in the caſe of perſons of the firſt quality; and invaded, on all occaſions, the rights of the crown, and the juriſdiction of ſecular tribunals; ſo that the king was continually employed in iſſuing writs to ſtop his proceedings.

But his preſent obſtinacy was entirely defeated, by the addreſs and policy of Edward, who applied to the pope in ſuch a manner as could hardly fail of ſucceſs. He offered him the half of whatever he ſhould impoſe upon the clergy; in conſequence of which his holineſs granted him a tenth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues for the ſpace of three years.

But as none of the ſums ariſing from theſe grants would come into his coffers for

for a conſiderable time, and as he wanted ſome ready money for undertaking an expedition into Scotland, he exacted a loan from the trading towns, and obliged the people to pay their rents before they became due.

The truce with Scotland expiring at Midſummer, the king ſent his ſon Edward, (whom he had lately created prince of Wales and earl of Cheſter) with a ſtrong body of forces into that country; and he himſelf ſoon followed with another army.

The Scots were ſo prudent as to decline a general engagement, and keep themſelves within their woods and faſtneſſes, from whence they made ſudden excurſions, and had ſometimes the good fortune to ſurpriſe detached parties of the Engliſh, and ſeize ſome convoys of proviſion.

The campaign was diſtinguiſhed by no action of importance, being ſpent entirely in the reduction of a few caſtles; and Edward propoſed to paſs the winter at Linlithgow, in order to prevent the enemy from taking advantage of that ſeaſon of the year; but hearing that a truce was concluded between the French and Engliſh plenipotentiaries at Aſnieres, to continue till the end of November 1302, and that John Baliol and his ſubjects were included as allies of

Philip, he returned to England, and ratified the articles, though not till after he had entered a proteſt againſt them before a public notary.*

This truce was communicated to the governor, prelates, and nobility of Scotland, who promiſed to obſerve it with the greateſt fidelity; and, according to Du Tillet and P. Daniel, it was confirmed by John Baliol himſelf.

But notwithſtanding this appearance of friendſhip in the French king, he had privately agreed to abandon the Scots at the expiration of the truce, in conſideration of Edward's deſerting his own ally the count of Flanders; and it was owing to this ſecret ſtipulation that the latter continued to make preparations for finiſhing the conqueſt of Scotland.

The king had obtained, in the eighteenth year of his reign, an aid of forty ſhillings a knight's fee for the marriage of his eldeſt daughter, but it had never been levied; and in a parliament which was now held at London, it was unanimouſly reſolved that this aid ſhould be raiſed for the ſervice of the Scottiſh war.

At the ſame time orders were ſent to the barons of the Cinque-ports, to fit out twenty-five large ſhips, well ſupplied with men,

* A. D. 1302.

men, arms, and provisions, to rendezvous by Lady-Day at Newcastle; and Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, with several other of the nobility, and all the principal military tenants in Ireland, were summoned to assist him with their followers in his projected expedition.

Mean while, the truce with France was renewed till the next year, and then continued till the following Whitsuntide; but the Scots were not comprehended in either of these treaties, which were transacted without the knowledge or consent of his holiness. A quarrel had broke out between Boniface and the French king; and Philip would not submit to the arbitration of his holiness, whom he no longer considered as an unprejudiced and impartial judge.

Desirous, as he was, of guarding against the fatal effects of papal censure, he resolved to accommodate all his differences with the king of England; and this measure was become the more necessary, as the Flemings had taken up arms, and almost delivered themselves from their subjection to the crown of France.

They had cut in pieces between three and four thousand French troops quartered in Bruges, defeated the count d'Artois in a battle at Courtray, with a more terrible slaugh-

ter of the French nobility than had ever been known on any former occaſion, and recovered all the towns and fortreſſes in Flanders, except Dendermonde.

Philip had marched againſt them with a numerous army, in order to reduce them to obedience; but he was baffled in all his attempts, nor had he the leaſt hopes of being able to ſubdue them, while they ſhould continue to be aſſiſted by England, with which he carried on a continual correſpondence and an advantageous commerce.

In theſe circumſtances he ſignified his deſire of compromiſing his diſputes with Edward, who being wholly intent upon the Scottiſh war, was equally willing to come to an accommodation. Plenipotentiaries were immediately named on both ſides; and, on the twentieth of May, a peace was concluded at Paris, on condition that all lands ſeized by either prince, ſhould be reſtored to the lawful owner; that full ſatisfaction ſhould be made for captures; and that the hoſtages of Guienne, and the priſoners on both ſides, ſhould be releaſed without ranſom.

At the ſame time, a treaty of free commerce, and a league offenſive and defenſive, was made between the two kings, by which they bound themſelves not to afford

ford ſhelter or protection to each other's enemies, but mutually to aſſiſt one another againſt all perſons who ſhould attempt to invade the rights and prerogatives of their crowns, or the liberties and privileges of their kingdoms; but the emperor Albert, and the count of Hainault were excepted out of this ſtipulation, as the allies of France, and the duke of Brabant, as the confederate of England.

The pope's award for a marriage between the prince of Wales and Iſabel of France was confirmed; and all impediments of conſanguinity having been removed, the count of Savoy, and the earl of Lincoln, as Edward's proxies, eſpouſed the young princeſs with great ſolemnity. This laſt nobleman ſwore fealty to Philip for Guienne in the name of Edward his maſter, who promiſed to do homage for it in perſon at Amiens, where the two kings agreed to meet on the eighth of September.

Early in the ſpring Edward ſent Seagrave with an army into Scotland, rather to ravage the country than fight the natives, who, he imagined, were little able to make any reſiſtance. Seagrave, the better to extend his quarters, and incloſe the larger ſpace of ground, divided his forces into three bodies, which marched

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at the diſtance of ſome miles from one another; and as he never dreamed of meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, he proceeded in the moſt careleſs and ſecure manner, until he had advanced to Roſlin in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

There he was ſuddenly attacked by the Scottiſh army under the command of John Cumin the regent, and Simon Frazer, who defeated his firſt diviſion, and took him priſoner. The next body, informed of this diſaſter, haſtened to the relief of their general, and as they were nearly equal to the enemy in point of number, they charged them with irreſiſtible fury; but after a deſperate engagement, the Scots again proved victorious.

By this time the third diviſion of the Engliſh approached; and the Scots, already exhauſted by fatigue, and greatly weakened by the two former actions, would willingly have declined another encounter; but being encouraged by the exhortations of their leaders, they furniſhed themſelves with the arms of the conquered, and, mounting the horſes they had taken, ſtood the ſhock of a third engagement, which, after an obſtinate ſtruggle, they at laſt gained, though not without great loſs and difficulty.

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The Engliſh authors paſs over theſe three battles, as of little or no conſequence; and the Scottiſh writers extol this triple victory, as an inſtance of valour and heroiſm to which hiſtory can produce few parallels. Perhaps the latter ſay too much, and the former too little.*

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* We can eaſily excuſe thoſe hiſtorians, who wrote at a time when national prejudices, between the Scots and the Engliſh, were ſtrong and prevalent, for endeavouring to diminiſh the glory of theſe three victories; but we cannot, without a generous indignation, behold the ſame conduct in Mr. Carte, and ſome other of our late hiſtorians; when all theſe prejudices, with every man of ſenſe, and every well-wiſher of his country, are buried in eternal oblivion. This propenſity to magnify our own atchievements, and depreciate thoſe of our enemies, ſeems to ariſe from a maxim which is partly true and partly falſe; namely, that a contempt of our enemies, is the ſureſt ſymptom of victory and ſucceſs. If this be meant with regard to the common ſoldiers, it will, in a great meaſure, hold good, becauſe they will ſcorn to fly from the face of that foe whom they deſpiſe and contemn; but if it be ſuppoſed to relate to the commander of an army, it is abſolutely falſe and abſurd, inaſmuch as it will prevent him from taking thoſe prudent meaſures, and neceſſary precautions, without which all the courage and bravery in the world would ſignify nothing: and we imagine the careleſs conduct, and conſequent defeat of Seagrave, is a ſtriking proof of the juſtice of this obſervation. The Engliſh, therefore, need not be afraid of allowing the Scots the honour of this triple victory, as it is notoriouſly known that they not only beat them in ſeveral other engagements of

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Be that as it will, it cannot be denied that Edward was ſo much alarmed at this diſaſter, that he reſolved to march againſt the enemy in perſon; and, with that view, ordered all his military tenants to meet him at Roxburg, by the enſuing Whitſunday.

There he muſtered an incredible number of forces, with which he marched into Scotland, and proceeded as far as Edinburgh, without meeting with the leaſt reſiſtance.* Wallace was ſtill at the head of a ſmall body

far greater importance, but even made an entire conqueſt of their country; and we never thought that the cowardice and puſillanimity of the vanquiſhed redounded to the honour of the victor; for where is the honour in conquering a baſe and daſtardly foe? on the contrary, we were always of opinion that the glory and renown of the conqueror were in exact proportion to the courage and conduct of the conquered.

* About the time of his entering Scotland, he received the diſagreeable news that his treaſury in Weſtminſter-abbey was robbed of one hundred pounds in money, plate and jewels. The monks were ſuſpected of being concerned in the robbery, and it appeared from the inquiſitions that were taken on the occaſion, that they had been obſerved, on the very night in which it was committed, to paſs to and from the neighbourhood of the treaſury, with large bundles and hampers, which they ſent off by water. Part of the plate and jewels was afterwards found in London, and other places; and the abbot, together with fifty monks, and thirty lay-brethren, were committed to priſon.

body of Scots, who narrowly watched the motions of the Engliſh army, and endeavoured to ſurprize their detached parties; and the caſtle of Sterling had been lately reduced by Cumin the regent.

Edward, however, would not interrupt his march by laying ſiege to that fortreſs, as he thought it of more conſequence to penetrate into the northern ſhires, before the enemy ſhould have time to collect their ſcattered forces.

The firſt oppoſition he received was from Thomas Maule, governor of the caſtle of Brechin, who refuſed to ſurrender the place, ſo that Edward was obliged to beſiege it in form, which he continued to do for the ſpace of twenty days, without ſucceſs. The governor ſeemed to deſpiſe his endeavours, and was even ſo imprudent as to diſcover ſome marks of his contempt, which proved fatal to himſelf; for as he wiped the wall with his handkerchief in deriſion of Edward's batteries, he was killed by a ſtone from one of theſe engines; and this accident ſtruck the garriſon with ſuch a pannic, that they ſurrendered at diſcretion.

Edward having made himſelf maſter of this place, continued his march to the caſtle of Urquhart, which he took by ſtorm; and then proceeded to the utmoſt extremity of Scotland; from whence he return-

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ed to Dumfermling, where he paſſed the winter.

In the beginning of May, he inveſted the caſtle of Stirling, which was commanded by William Oliphant, with a garriſon of three hundred men, who defended the place with invincible obſtinacy till the latter end of July, when the ditches being filled up, a conſiderable breach made in the walls, and the Engliſh ready to give the aſſault, the governour, with the ſurviving part of his people, amounting to about one hundred and forty, deſired leave to capitulate; but this favour being refuſed, they were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and were ſent priſoners into England.*

The Scots, unable to oppoſe the victorious arms of Edward, were glad to renew their ſubmiſſion; and the king, ſenſible of the bad effects of his former ſeverity, was ſo prudent as to treat them with greater lenity and mildneſs.

The regent ſent deputies to implore the forgiveneſs of his majeſty; and, after ſome conferences, it was agreed, that he and his adherents ſhould be indulged with a pardon, upon their paying a ranſom to be fixed in the next parliament, when the affairs of Scotland were to be ſettled; that all

* A. D. 1304.

all the caſtles in the kingdom ſhould continue in the hands of Edward; and that the priſoners on both ſides ſhould be ſet at liberty.

Several perſons, who had been moſt active in raiſing the late inſurrection, were excepted out of this act of indemnity; and it was expreſly declared, that Wallace had no favour to expect, unleſs he would ſubmit himſelf to the king's mercy.

In conſequence of this agreement, Cumin and his friends repaired to Dumfermling, where they did homage, and ſwore fealty to Edward, who having now reduced the Scots to an entire ſubjection, returned to England, and, after making a progreſs through the northern counties, arrived at London, where he kept his Chriſtmas.

The king had now been abſent from his dominions for the ſpace of two years, and, during that time, many diſorders had happened in the kingdom. In the weſtern counties, bordering upon Wales, robberies, murders, and other crimes of the like nature, were daily committed with equal wantonneſs and impunity; for the banditti had formed themſelves into ſuch ſtrong parties, that while they plundered and pillaged the defenceleſs peaſants, they bid defiance to the power and authority of the civil magiſtrate.

In order to remedy this evil, the king convoked a parliament at Westminster, where commissions (known by the name of writs of Trayle-baston) were issued to the justices to enquire into those excesses; to try the authors by juries in a summary way, and punish them with the utmost rigour and severity. In consequence of these inquisitions, great numbers of malefactors were capitally convicted; several were obliged to pay large sums; and the rest fled the kingdom.*

The public tranquillity being thus reestablished, Edward began to turn his attention towards the affairs of Scotland. He had now learned to treat the natives of that country with greater lenity and mildness than he had formerly done. Robert de Bruce, earl of Carrick, son of the competitor, dying about this time, his son, of the same name, received the investiture of his lands, upon swearing fealty to Edward, who conferred several marks of favour upon him, and two of his countrymen, John Mowbray, and the bishop of Glasgow, though they had all declared against him in the late revolt.

He now desired them to consider of a proper time and place for convoking a parliament to settle the affairs of their country;

* A. D. 1305.

country; and, agreeable to their advice, ten deputies were ordered to come and treat with the Engliſh commiſſioners, in a parliament which was to be aſſembled in the month of September for that purpoſe.

There it was reſolved that eight juſtices ſhould be appointed to regulate the affairs of Scotland. The guardianſhip of the realm, with the cuſtody of the caſtles of Jedburgh and Roxburgh, was committed to John de Bretagne, the king's nephew; and William de Bevercotes, and John de Sandale, both eccleſiaſtics, were continued in the poſts of chancellor and chamberlain of the kingdom.

It was agreed that the laws and cuſtoms of the Scots ſhould be aboliſhed; and that, upon the arrival of the guardian in Scotland, a parliament ſhould be convoked to examine the laws of king David, and the amendments or alterations which had been made in them by his ſucceſſors; that without conſulting the king, they ſhould cancel or reform all laws and uſages that were inconſiſtent with reaſon or religion; and that thoſe articles which, either on account of their intricacy or importance, they could not rectify themſelves, ſhould be committed to writing, and ſent by deputies from the ſtates of Scotland to the parliament of England, where they ſhould

be fairly canvaſſed by their deputies, and a certain number of commiſſioners appointed by the king.

At the concluſion of the parliament, Edward publiſhed an act of indemnity in favour of the Scots, who had made their ſubmiſſion; but ſeveral noblemen were excluded from this indulgence, except upon very hard terms; and Robert de Bruce was forced to give up the ſtrong fortreſs of Kildrummy.

Edward ſeems to have dreaded the great abilities and powerful intereſt of that nobleman; and therefore took care to leave him out of the liſt of commiſſioners. All the Scottiſh prelates and nobility, who were then at London, together with the deputies, in the name of the whole realm, agreed to obſerve theſe regulations; but it does not appear that the earl of Carrick was then in England, or that he ever took this oath.

He was no ſooner informed of the deciſion with regard to his caſtle of Kildrummy, and the circumſtance of his being excluded from the liſt of commiſſioners, than his reſentment adding fire to his ambition, he began to form the deſign of ſhaking off the Engliſh yoke, and recovering the independence of his country.

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A real friendſhip had never ſubſiſted between him and Wallace. The latter was the idol of the common people; and Bruce could never hope to make any figure as a leading patriot whilſt that illuſtrious hero ſhould be alive. But fortune ſoon delivered him from this perplexity; for Wallace, who had never laid down his arms, was, about this time, delivered into the hands of the Engliſh by Sir John Monteith, Edward's Scottiſh favourite, and governor of the caſtle of Dunbarton.

The Scottiſh hiſtorians pretend that he was betrayed in the moſt baſe and perfidious manner, as he lay aſleep in the neighbourhood of Glaſgow. But though he was ſeized by a party under the command of Monteith, he cannot be properly ſaid to have been betrayed, as that gentleman was not only a friend but even an officer of Edward's.

He was no ſooner apprehended than he was conveyed to London, amidſt infinite crowds of people, who flocked from all quarters to behold the man who had ſo often filled the country with terror and diſmay, as he now affected every generous breaſt with pity and admiration.

Upon his arrival in London he was lodged in Fenchurch-ſtreet, and next day was brought to his trial in Weſtminſter-hall,

where he was placed upon a high chair, and crowned with laurel in deriſion. His indictment being read, in which he was accuſed of high treaſon, he pleaded not guilty; affirming, that it was equally unjuſt and abſurd, to charge him with treaſon againſt a prince whoſe ſuperiority over Scotland he had never owned, and whoſe uſurpation he had ever diſputed.

It was not eaſy to get over this objection, eſpecially as the new regulation of Scottiſh affairs had not yet taken place; but the judges at laſt over-ruled the plea, and, upon the maxim of Edward's being not only the lord paramount, but even the immediate ſovereign of Scotland, found him guilty of high-treaſon. He was condemned to die the death of a traitor; and the ſentence was executed with every circumſtance of barbarity, his head being erected upon a pole on London-Bridge, and his quarters expoſed in the other chief cities of England.*

Thus fell a man, whom every free ſtate muſt wiſh to have its own; and who, notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid againſt him, has ever been conſidered, by every candid and impartial judge, as a firm and unſhaken patriot, and a martyr to the liberty and independence of his country.

In

* Of Scotland; according to Walſingham, p. 90.

In order to palliate the ſeverity, not to ſay injuſtice, of Edward's conduct, ſome of our Engliſh hiſtorians have repreſented Wallace as a mercileſs and inhuman ruffian, who committed the moſt ſhocking cruelties upon women and children in the courſe of the war; but, beſides that theſe alligations have never been ſufficiently proved, the crimes with which Wallace is charged ought rather to be aſcribed to the ſavage barbarity of the age, than to the cruelty of his diſpoſition, as it would be eaſy to produce the like inſtances of inhumanity in the conduct of ſeveral other leaders, and even of Edward himſelf, particularly in the ſiege of Berwick, and on many other occaſions.

But the truth is, Edward, though poſſeſſed of great abilities, ſeems to have been deſtitute of that generoſity of ſoul which prompts a man to admire the ſame noble qualities in others. Add to this, that intereſt, pride, ambition, and every other motive, concurred to render the conqueſt of Scotland the favourite object of his purſuit; and it is therefore natural to ſuppoſe, that he was highly incenſed againſt Wallace, who had not only oppoſed him in the accompliſhment of his deſign, with the moſt invincible obſtinacy; but had even excited ſuch an ardent love of liberty, and ſuch an unconquerable ſpirit of independence in the breaſts

breaſts of his countrymen, as gave infinite diſturbance to Edward during his life, and, after his death, delivered that kingdom from its ſubjection to the Engliſh crown.

Bruce being thus freed from the man whom he conſidered as his rival in point of glory, endeavoured to ſecure the intereſt of Cumin of Badenough, who, upon the abdication of Baliol, ſucceeded as his competitor for the crown.

With this view he communicated ſome diſtant hints of his deſign to that nobleman; and, after ſome private conferences, a treaty was concluded and ratified by oath, and an indenture drawn up, by which Cumin engaged to aſſiſt Bruce with all his intereſt, in his endeavours to mount the throne; and Bruce bound himſelf, in return, to own Cumin as firſt prince of the blood, and beſtowed upon him the private eſtate of the Bruſſian family.

Cumin, either unwilling to violate the oath he had taken to Edward, or terrified at the danger and difficulty of the enterprize in which he had embarked, or finally deſirous of deſtroying his rival, and thus paving his own way to the throne, tranſmitted a copy of this treaty to the king of England, who received it juſt as the earl of Carrick arrived in London, to conſult with ſome of the Scottiſh nobility, who had come

up

up to regulate the affairs of their country in the laſt parliament.

Edward ſent for him to court, and ſhewed him the indenture, aſking, at the ſame time, if he knew the hand and ſeal. Bruce, with great preſence of mind, diſclaimed all knowledge of the tranſaction; and offered, on pain of forfeiting life and limb, to prove the whole to be a forgery; and this he did with ſuch confidence and aſſurance, that Edward, who was ſtaggered in his opinion, did not think proper to ſeize his perſon: nevertheleſs he ordered him to be beſet with ſpies, in ſuch a manner that all his words and actions were narrowly obſerved and reported to the king, who, at laſt, reſolved to take him into cuſtody.

But Bruce was ſaved from the impending danger, by the friendſhip of his brother-in-law the earl of Glouceſter, and his own ſagacity and addreſs. Glouceſter being informed of the king's intention, ſent a few pieces of money and a pair of ſpurs to the earl of Carrick, on pretence of reſtoring what he had borrowed.

Bruce was too quick-ſighted not to perceive the meaning of this myſtical meſſage. He found means, about midnight, to get on horſeback, and before next morning he was out of all danger of purſuit. On the ſeventh day he arrived at his own caſtle of Loch-

Lochmaban, where he found a few of his particular friends, to whom he imparted the treachery of Cumin.

Hearing that nobleman was then at Dumfries, he repaired thither, in order to tax him with his breach of faith; and, finding him in the cloyſters of a monaſtery belonging to the grey-friers, upbraided him ſeverely with his perfidious conduct. Cumin denied the charge; and Robert producing ſome letters which the other had wrote to the king of England, and which he had intercepted by the way, confronted him with his own writing; a violent altercation enſued; and Bruce, in a tranſport of paſſion, ſheathed his dagger in Cumin's breaſt.

He then left the monaſtery, and remounted his horſe; when ſome of his attendants, obſerving marks of confuſion in his countenance, deſired to know the cauſe. He acacquainted them with what he had done; and James Lindſay, one of his retinue, hearing the circumſtance of Cumin's being wounded, "What," ſaid he, "have you "left the work unfiniſhed?" So ſaying, he went to the cloyſters with a few friends, and, finding the monks had conveyed Cumin into the church, that he might confeſs his ſins and receive abſolution, he ruſhed up to the altar, where, regardleſs of the ſacred nature of the place, and deaf to the feelings

feelings of humanity, he butchered that unhappy nobleman, and a knight of the ſame name, who came to his aſſiſtance.*

Bruce having thus got rid of his rival, began to take meaſures for mounting the Scottiſh throne, which had been vacant ſince the depoſition of John Baliol; and to which, he imagined, he had now acquired an additional right by the death of that unhappy monarch, which happened about this time in France.

Accordingly he ſurpriſed the caſtle of Dumfries, and impriſoned the Engliſh judges, who ſat in the great hall to hear and determine cauſes.

Then traverſing the country with a ſtrong body of followers, he ſubdued ſeveral fortreſſes, and drove the Engliſh out of the kingdom. In a ſhort time he was joined by ſuch a number of the Scottiſh nobility, that he repaired to Scone and was crowned, by the hands of the counteſs of Buchan, ſiſter to the earl of Fife.

This was a privilege inherent in that family; and whether the counteſs was actuated by a love to her country, or an affection to Bruce, who was a man of a graceful appearance, and now in the bloom of youth, certain it is ſhe was obliged to ſteal from her huſband, who was in the intereſt of

* A. D. 1306.

of Edward, in order to perform the ceremony of the coronation, which was done in the presence of the bishops of St. Andrew's, Glasgow, Murray, and a great number of persons of the first distinction.

Edward was no sooner informed of Cumin's murder and Bruce's revolt, than he applied to Clement V. who had lately succeeded to the papal chair, pressing him to fulminate a sentence of excommunication against all concerned in that assassination, and the pope readily complied with his request; but Bruce, who considered this censure as an idle piece of trumpery, got himself absolved by one of his own prelates, and by that means removed the scruples of his subjects.

Mean while Edward, resolving to undertake an expedition in Scotland, began to recruit his finances, and for that purpose had recourse to the assistance of the pope, who indulged him with a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues for three years, on condition that one half of the money should be remitted to his holiness.

This scandalous collusion, designed to enrich the king and the pope by fleecing the clergy, gave so much offence to the kingdom, that the parliament presented a remonstrance against it, and even forbade the officers to collect the imposition; but

Edward

Edward was not to be diverted from his purpoſe; he ordered the officers to proceed in levying the tax, on pain of incurring his higheſt diſpleaſure.*

As the money ariſing from this grant was not ſufficient to defray the expence of the expedition, he reſolved to raiſe a ſcutage, on pretence of knighting his ſon prince Edward; and the better to reconcile the people to this tax, he invited all the young gentlemen who were deſirous of obtaining that honour, to come and be knighted with the prince at Weſtminſter, where they ſhould receive the robes ſuited to that dignity.

At the ſame time he convoked a parliament, from which he demanded a ſubſidy; and the clergy and lay-noblemen, together with the knights and commonalty, granted a thirtieth of their temporalties, while the boroughs and towns of the royal demeſnes gave a twentieth of their moveables.

In conſequence of Edward's invitation, ſuch numbers of young gentlemen aſſembled, that, the royal palace not being ſufficient to contain them, they re-

* About this period, the king gave a ſtriking proof of his regard for juſtice, by impriſoning his own ſon, prince Edward, for offering an inſult to the biſhop of Cheſter.

paired to the garden of the New Temple, where they were entertained in tents and pavilions, which were erected on purpose. They afterwards kept their vigils in Westminster-abbey with prince Edward, who, being next day knighted by his father in the palace, went to the church of Westminster, and conferred the same honour on two hundred and sixty-seven young noblemen, who were by this act deemed his companions, and agreed to attend him in the expedition to Scotland, which the king resolved immediately to undertake.

With this view he summoned his prelates, nobility, and all his military tenants to meet him on the eighth day of July at Carlisle, which was fixed as the place of rendezvous for his forces; and as he was determined to continue in Scotland, until he should have reduced it to an entire subjection, he appointed the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Litchfield guardians of the realm during his absence.

In the mean time, he sent a body of troops into that country, under the command of Aymer de Valence, Henry de Piercy, and Robert de Clifford, who penetrated as far as Perth without opposition; but there they were met by Robert

de

de Bruce, who challenged them to battle, which they thought proper to decline.

The Scots, deſpiſing an enemy who durſt not meet them in the field, retired to Methuen at about a mile's diſtance, where they pitched their tents, and began to indulge themſelves in the moſt careleſs ſecurity; but towards the evening they were attacked by the Engliſh ſo ſuddenly, that they had hardly time to mount their horſes.

Notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, Bruce continued to make a gallant reſiſtance for a conſiderable time, during which he was thrice unhorſed, and as often remounted by the bravery of Simon de Fraſer. At length, however, his troops being entirely defeated, he was obliged to fly, and eſcaped to the caſtle of Cantyre in the ſhire of Argyle; the ſhattered remains of his army took refuge among the mountains; but ſeveral noblemen, who were taken in the action, were immediately executed as traitors.

Edward had now entered Scotland, at the head of a numerous army, which he divided into two parties. One of theſe proceeded northward, under the command of prince Edward, and the earls of Lancaſter and Hereford, who reduced the caſtle of Kildrummy, in which they found the wife and ſiſter of Robert de Bruce,

with his brother Niel, and ſeveral perſons of quality. His other two brothers, Alexander and Thomas, were ſoon after ſurprized in the caſtle of Lochryan in Cantyre, from which Robert himſelf eſcaped with great difficulty.

Edward, having thus deſtroyed all oppoſition, reſolved to proceed againſt thoſe who had occaſioned the late diſturbance. With this view he ordered the guardian and juſtices to proclaim in the cities, boroughs, and market-towns, that all who were concerned in the laſt rebellion, ſhould be purſued with hue and cry, until they were taken dead or alive; and that thoſe who refuſed to obey this order, ſhould forfeit their effects, and be impriſoned during the king's pleaſure: that all thoſe who had any ſhare in the murder of John Cumin, ſhould be put to death without mercy, as well as thoſe who harboured or entertained them; that thoſe who had taken arms againſt the king, ſhould be committed to priſon, and confined during his majeſty's pleaſure; and (what ſeems moſt unaccountable) that thoſe who had been forced into the rebellion, ſhould be fined at the diſcretion of the guardian.

After having iſſued theſe orders, under the great ſeal of Scotland, Edward began to inflict puniſhments upon thoſe delinquents

quents who were in his power, in which (it muſt be owned) he ſeems rather to have been actuated by perſonal reſentment and animoſity, than a regard to juſtice and the public peace.

The ſiſter of Bruce, and the counteſs of Buchan, were incloſed in wooden cages, and hung over the walls (the one of Roxburg, and the other of Berwick) as a ſpectacle to the populace. The biſhops of St. Andrew's and Glaſgow were loaded with irons, and committed to dungeons. The wife of Bruce was ſent priſoner into England; the earl of Athole was hanged at London on a gallows fifty feet high; the ſame was the fate of Simon de Fraſer; Herbert Norham and Thomas Boyd were beheaded; Chriſtopher de Seton, being an Engliſhman, was hanged, drawn and quartered; and the two brothers of Bruce fell by the hands of the common executioner.

Edward having thus glutted his vengeance with the blood of his enemies, and reduced the Scots to ſuch a ſtate of miſery and wretchedneſs, as, he imagined, would effectually prevent any future inſurrection, returned to Carliſle, where he convoked a parliament to redreſs the grievances of the monaſteries and religious houſes, which were loaded with talliages, tributes, and other taxations, by the agents of the pope,

under the frivolous pretence of viſitations, contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of the realm.

Theſe impoſitions were condemned as injurious to the crown, detrimental to the ſubjects, and ſubverſive of the conſtitution; and a letter was ſent to the pope, in the name of the clergy and laity, remonſtrating againſt the extortion of his miniſters, and deſiring his holineſs to forbid ſuch practices for the future.

Teſta, the pope's chief agent, was ſummoned before the parliament, and ſtrictly diſcharged from levying any more money in his maſter's name. He was allowed, indeed, to keep what he had already collected; but was not to diſpoſe of it without the knowledge and permiſſion of the king's council. At the ſame time writs were iſſued for apprehending and committing to priſon, all ſuch perſons as he had employed in theſe and the like exactions; but this proceeding was ſtopped, at the interceſſion of the new legate, Peter d'Eſpagne, whom the pope had ſent over to finiſh the marriage of the prince of Wales, with Iſabel of France, according to the award of his predeceſſor.*

At the inſtance of the ſame prelate, the king took the pope's agents under his protection,

* A. D. 1307.

tection, and allowed them to exercise their offices as formerly; but the parliament remonstrated so strongly against this impolitic measure, that he was obliged to withdraw his patronage, and allow him to relapse under the former prohibition.

The prince's marriage had been retarded by a dispute about the castle of Mauleon in Gascony, which had been granted by Philip to a certain knight, who refused to restore it without an equivalent; and Edward would not consent to the consummation of the nuptials, until he should be put in possession of this fortress, with all the adjoining territory.

The young prince was not dissatisfied at this delay, as it gave him the better opportunity of indulging himself in the gratification of those vicious passions to which he was so strongly addicted.

His weekly allowance not being sufficient to answer his extravagant demands, he applied to Langton, bishop of Litchfield, the treasurer, for an additional sum; and upon that prelate's refusing to comply with his unreasonable request, he not only loaded him with the most opprobious invectives, but even destroyed his inclosures, killed his deer, and committed several other outrages. The king was no sooner informed of this insult upon one of his first ministers, than, with

with a laudable ſpirit of impartiality, he baniſhed the prince from court for the ſpace of ſix months, and would not re-admit him into his preſence, until he had made ſatisfaction to the biſhop.

At the ſame time he baniſhed Piers Gaveſton, who was a particular favourite of the prince, and was ſuppoſed, by his bad advice and worſe example, to encourage him in all his evil practices; and this nobleman, upon agreeing to go into a voluntary exile, was allowed a yearly penſion of a hundred marks out of the revenues of Guienne.

While the parliament was ſitting at Carliſle, Edward, hearing that ſome freſh diſturbances were raiſed in Scotland by Robert de Bruce, prevailed upon the pope's legate to renew the ſentence of excommunication againſt that prince and all his adherents, and reſolved to march againſt him in perſon as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would permit.

After the battle of Methuen, Robert had fled, with the ſhattered remains of his army, to the borders of Argyle, where he was again defeated by the lord Lorn, and obliged to ſeek for ſhelter among the woods and mountains, accompanied only by two of his friends, the earl of Lennox and Gil-

bert

bert Hay, who never deſerted him in his misfortunes.

In this forlorn condition he was reduced to ſuch extreme want, that he had no other food than what he enjoyed in common with the beaſts of the field and the fowls of the air; and he was hunted from place to place as if he had been an enemy to mankind. At laſt, he found means to eſcape into the little iſle of Raughrine, where he lay concealed until it was univerſally believed that he had periſhed either by want, or the hands of his enemies.

But while he was ſuffering the ſevereſt hardſhips which human nature is able to ſupport, his great and heroic mind was forming ſchemes for aſcending the throne of his anceſtors, and recovering the independence of his country.

He was no ſooner informed of Edward's departure from Scotland, than he ſent Sir James Douglas and Sir Robert Boyd, to acquaint his friends with his being alive; and theſe having collected a ſmall body of troops, he left his retreat, and, putting himſelf at their head, intercepted a convoy of proviſions which was eſcorted by a party of Engliſh forces. Having thus provided his followers with arms and proviſions, he reduced the caſtle of Turnberry, and compelled the lord Henry Piercy, who com-

commanded in that quarter, to retire towards England.

Edward, hearing of these proceedings, gave orders to the earl of Pembroke, and the lord Lorn, both of whom had defeated Bruce in the course of the former year, to march against him, and destroy his handful of men before they should increase to such a number as might create any considerable disturbance.

These two noblemen executed their commission with so much diligence and dispatch, that they soon came in sight of the enemy, whom they almost surrounded as they lay encamped on the brow of a hill; but Bruce, who was ever fruitful in expedients, perceiving the imminent danger to which he was exposed, ordered his army, which did not exceed a thousand men, to disperse into small parties, by which means they escaped through the trees and bushes, that concealed them from the view of their adversaries; and at last assembled, according to the previous direction of their leader, in the wood of Glentroule, near Cumnock.

Thither they were closely pursued by the earl of Pembroke; but Bruce having found means to draw that nobleman into a disadvantageous situation, attacked him with such irresistible impetuosity, that the English

Engliſh troops were entirely routed. Soon after he obtained another victory over a party commanded by the earl of Glouceſter, who was obliged to take refuge in the caſtle of Aire, which Bruce immediately beſieged.

The Scots, encouraged by theſe advantages, crowded to the banners of their prince and deliverer, who ſoon found himſelf at the head of ten thouſand men, tho' they were generally deſtitute of arms, and utterly unacquainted with diſcipline.

In the mean time, Edward remained at Carliſle, expecting, with great impatience, the troops he had ſummoned to aſſemble; and the firſt that arrived were immediately detached to the relief of the earl of Glouceſter. Bruce, obſerving the Engliſh approach, was fain to raiſe the ſiege; but he could not retire with ſuch expedition, but that he was attacked and defeated; in conſequence of which, he was forced, once more, to take refuge among the woods and mountains, where he continued till the death of Edward.

That prince was ſeized with a dyſentery, which ſoon weakened him to ſuch a degree, that, for ſeveral days, no body was admitted into his preſence, except the gentlemen of his bed-chamber; and hence the report of his death was immediately

ſpread abroad, and generally believed to be true.

The king, deſirous to put a ſtop to this rumour, and eager to complete the reduction of Scotland, began his march for that country, and proceeded as far as Burgh on the ſands, where finding his end approaching, he ſent for his ſon prince Edward, and recommended three things to his particular attention.

The firſt was, to proſecute the war againſt the Scots, with unremitted vigour, until he ſhould have reduced them to an entire ſubjection; for which purpoſe he adviſed him to carry his bones into Scotland, at the head of the army, not doubting but the preſence even of his lifeleſs corpſe, would daunt the courage of a people whom he had ſo often vanquiſhed.

The ſecond was, that he would ſend his heart to Jeruſalem, with thirty-two thouſand pounds ſterling, which he had deſtined for the ſupport of the holy ſepulchre. And the third, that he would never recall his favourite Gaveſton, whom he conſidered as the cauſe of all the miſdemeanours of which the young prince had been guilty, and who, he foreſaw, would be the occaſion of far greater miſchiefs, if he ſhould ever return to England. The prince having promiſed to obey theſe injunctions, Edward reſigned himſelf

to

to his fate, with a pious but manly compoſure, and expired in the arms of his ſervants, while they were raiſing him up to take ſome nouriſhment.

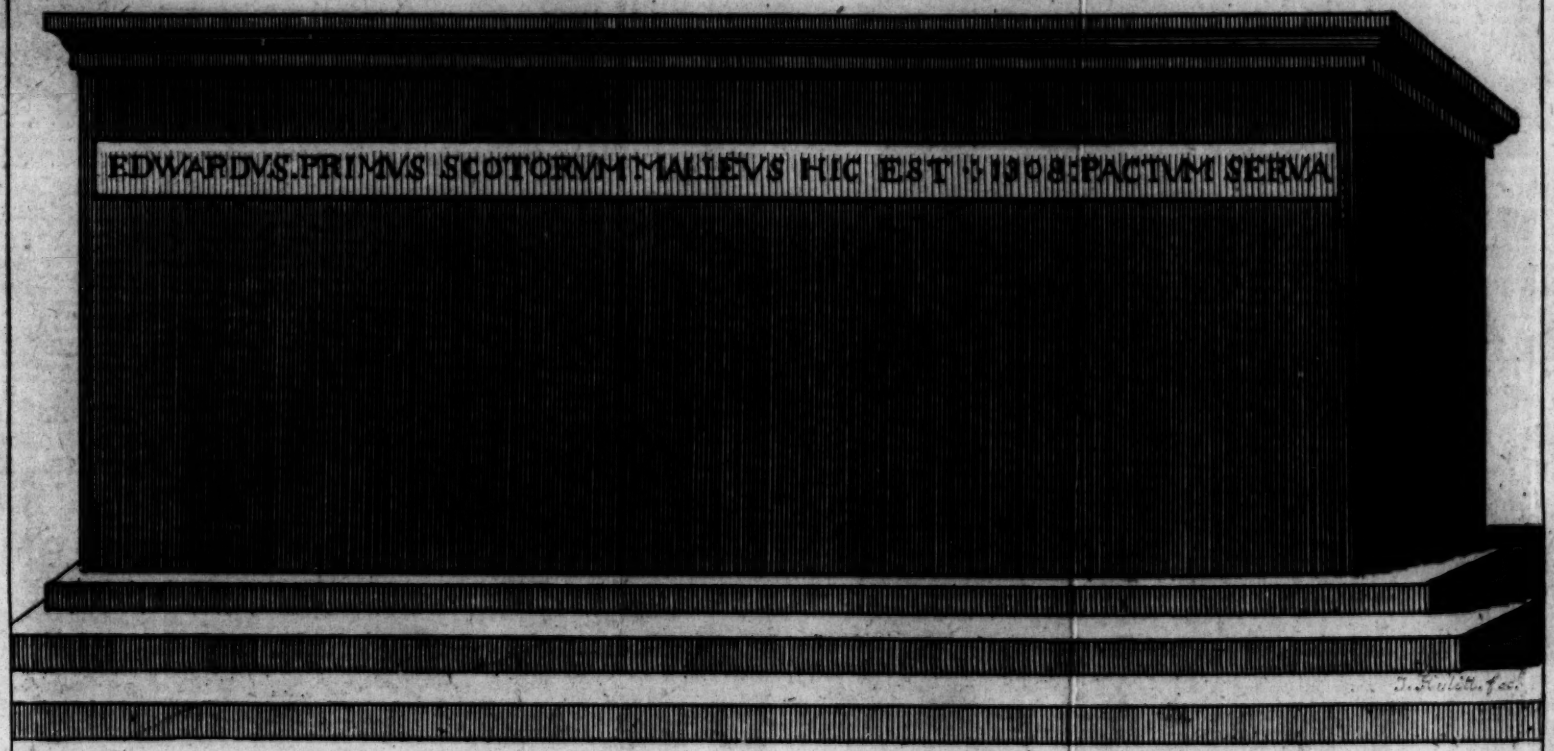
Thus died, on the ſeventh day of July, in the ſixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-ſixth of his reign, Edward, king of England, the firſt of that name ſince the Norman conqueſt, and the fourth ſince the time of Egbert. He was a prince of a graceful appearance; tall in ſtature, and comely in his complexion; his features were regular and elegant; his forehead was open and ſpreading; his hair black and curled; his eyes keen and piercing; and his whole aſpect was ſuch as at once engaged affection and commanded eſteem. Of a compact make, and robuſt conſtitution, he excelled all his contemporaries in ſtrength and dexterity; and he would have been perfectly well ſhaped, if his legs had not been a little too long in proportion to the reſt of his body; whence he derived the ſurname of Long-Shanks. But even this diſproportion was attended with a conſiderable advantage; for it gave him ſuch a firm ſeat on horſeback, that no man of the age was able to diſmount him.

With theſe bodily perfections, he poſſeſſed the more valuable qualities of a clear

head, a ſound judgment, great penetration, ſagacity, and prudence; ſo cautious and circumſpect, that he never brought himſelf into any dilemma; and yet endowed with ſuch preſence of mind, that, when by a concurrence of unavoidable and untoward circumſtances, he was involved in any difficulty, he never failed to extricate himſelf with equal honour and ſucceſs.

His noble atchievements in Paleſtine, France, Wales, and Scotland, beſpeak him an accompliſhed warrior; nor was he leſs diſtinguiſhed for his legiſlative capacity; he is juſtly conſidered by Fleta, Breton, and all our moſt eminent lawyers, as the Juſtinian of England; for not to mention the many excellent ſtatutes that were made in his reign, he reformed the abuſes which had crept into the adminiſtration of juſtice, and eſtabliſhed it upon a new footing, ſo as to render it more ſure and ſummary; he aſcertained the proper limits between the different courts of judicature; introduced a new and eaſy method of collecting the public taxes; reduced the overgrown power of the pope and clergy, and enacted many wiſe and wholeſome laws for preſerving the peace of the kingdom, and main-

The Monument of Edward the 1. in Westminster Abbey.



Engravid for Rider's History of England.

maintaining order and regularity among his ſubjects.

Nevertheleſs, it muſt be owned that Edward, though a great prince, was far from being faultleſs. He was ambitious in his temper, cruel in his diſpoſition, arbitrary in his principles, and, perhaps, not entirely free from hypocriſy and diſſimulation. The firſt is evident from his bloody and expenſive war with Scotland, which, inſtead of procuring any real advantage to the Engliſh crown, deprived it of that homage and fealty which the Scottiſh kings had always been wont to pay for the counties of Lothian and Galloway: the ſecond appears from his ſevere treatment of his Welch and Scottiſh priſoners, particularly of Llewellyn and William Wallace, both heroes worthy of a better fate: the third is apparent in his ſeizing by his ſole authority, and ſelling, for his own uſe, the goods of his ſubjects, in open violation of the charter of liberties, which he had ſo often confirmed; and the fourth may be gathered from his tranſactions with the competitors of the Scottiſh crown, whom he ſeems to have conſidered in no other light than as they were the means of forwarding

those designs which he himself had formed upon the sovereignty of that kingdom.*

EDWARD II. furnamed of CAERNARVON. A.D. 1307.

THE reign of the late king had been productive of great advantage, and greater glory, to the English nation. The princi-

* Edward had, by his first wife Eleanor of Castile, four sons and eleven daughters, viz. John, Henry, and Alphonso, who died young; and Edward, who succeeded him on the throne; Joan, who died in her infancy; Eleanor, first betrothed to Alphonso king of Arragon, and, after his death, married to the count of Bar; a third who died an infant in Palestine; Joan of Acres, first married to Gilbert earl of Gloucester, and afterwards to Ralph de Monthermer; Margaret, espoused to John II. duke of Brabant; Berengere and Alice, who died infants; Mary, a nun at Ambresbury; Elizabeth, matched with John count of Holland, and afterwards with Humphrey de Bohun VIII. earl of Hereford, and constable of England; Beatrix and Blanche, who both died in their infancy.

By his second wife, Margaret of France, Edward had two sons and one daughter; Thomas, born at Brotherton in Yorkshire, created earl of Norfolk, and mareschal of England; Edmund, born at Wodestoke, created earl of Kent by his brother Edward II. in the fifteenth year of his reign; and Eleanor, who died in her childhood. *Rymer. Chron. Dunmow. M. West.*

EDWARD II.

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principality of Wales was united to the crown. Scotland, thrice ſubdued, was upon the point of being conquered for a fourth time, the Engliſh forces having already advanced to the borders. The ſpirit of faction and diſcord was entirely extinguiſhed in the kingdom. A good underſtanding was eſtabliſhed between the ſovereign and the people. And all theſe circumſtances ſeemed to make ample amends for the loſſes ſuſtained by the crown in foreign parts, during the reign of John and Henry III. not ſo much through the weakneſs of the Engliſh, as the puſillanimity and miſconduct of theſe two princes.

The age of Edward II. who, when he mounted the throne, was in his twenty-third year, his noble ſtature, graceful mien, and majeſtic appearance, joined to the advantage of being ſprung from ſuch an illuſtrious parent, inſpired the people with the agreeable hopes of enjoying as much happineſs and ſucceſs under his adminiſtration, as they had done under that of his father. But it was not long before they were awakened from this pleaſing dream, and convinced, to their ſad experience, that they had entertained a better opinion of their young prince than he deſerved.

After having been proclaimed at Carliſle, and received the homage of the Engliſh prelates and nobility, he proceeded to Roxburg and Dumfries, to receive the fealty of the Scots; but inſtead of proſecuting the war againſt that people, according to the injunction of his father, he had no ſooner advanced to Cumnock, at the head of his army, than he ſet out on his return to his own dominions, leaving Aymer, earl of Pembroke, with full powers to treat with the Scots about a peace, and appointing him guardian of the realm; though that poſt was afterwards conferred upon John de Bretagne, and the office of chamberlain was given to Euſtace de Cotiſbache.

Nor was this the only inſtance in which Edward violated the promiſe he had made to his father; for he immediately recalled his favourite Piers Gaveſton, to whom he granted the whole eſtate of the late earl of Cornwall, together with the thirty-two thouſand pounds which the late king had deſtined for the ſupport of one hundred and forty knights, who had engaged to carry his heart to Jeruſalem; in a word, he ſeemed to take no other pleaſure in royalty, than as it gave him a power of ſhowering down his favours upon this worthleſs foreigner,

reigner, whom he careſſed with all the ardour of a fond lover.

Had Edward been a woman, ſuch a behaviour would have been extremely natural, as Gaveſton was poſſeſſed of every accompliſhment that could recommend him to the favour of the fair ſex. He had a beautiful face, a fine ſhape, a graceful air, and an inſinuating addreſs; he excelled in all the exerciſes of bodily agility; was remarkable for that ſmartneſs at repartee, which is ſo peculiar to the Gaſcons, among whom he was born; and, if we may believe ſome hiſtorians, was a man of real courage. Yet, with all theſe qualities, he was haughty, inſolent, profligate and debauched, and wholly devoted to the gratification of his own vicious paſſions.

Influenced by the advice of this deſpicable minion, Edward removed from their poſts the chancellor, treaſurer, judges, and barons of the exchequer, and ſupplied their places with his creatures. Langton, biſhop of Litchfield, was committed to priſon, the temporalities of his ſee were ſequeſtered, and his goods and chattels ſeized, until he ſhould give a ſtrict account of his conduct and management as treaſurer to the late king; while Gaveſton was appointed great chamberlain and ſecretary of ſtate, and

ruled

ruled the kingdom by his ſole authority.

A parliament was aſſembled at Northampton, on the ſixteenth day of October, to ſettle the ceremony of the late king's funeral, and the marriage and coronation of the reigning prince, as well as to conſult about the affairs of the nation. To defray the expences of theſe articles, the clergy, together with the citizens and burgeſſes, granted a fifteenth, and the barons and knights of the ſhires gave a twentieth; and it was ordained that the baſe money, which would not paſs in the laſt reign, ſhould be current all over the kingdom.

The body of Edward I. inſtead of being conveyed into Scotland, according to his dying requeſt, was removed to Waltham-abbey; from whence it was carried to Weſtminſter-abbey, in which it was interred with great pomp and ſolemnity.

The king, not ſatisfied with the extraordinary marks of favour he had already beſtowed upon Gaveſton, gave him in marriage his own niece Margaret, ſiſter to the young earl of Glouceſter, who was obliged to conſent to the match, before he could receive the livery of his lands; and the nuptials were ſolemnized on the

firſt day of November, with great magnificence.

At the ſame time, in order to increaſe the renown of his favourite, he adviſed him to proclaim a tournament, not doubting but the honour of the day would fall to Gaveſton, who was extremely expert in all military exerciſes, and could not fail of engaging, by his money and intereſt, the moſt valiant knights of the realm in his party. The earls of Warenne, Hereford, and Arundel, with a great number of barons, appeared in the liſts againſt him; but being foiled by the ſuperior force or addreſs of their adverſaries, they returned to their own eſtates glowing with indignation and reſentment.

Edward had already ſent the biſhops of Durham and Norwich, and the earls of Lincoln and Pembroke to the court of France, in order to eſpouſe the princeſs Iſabel, and appoint a day for the conſummation of the marriage; and as he now reſolved to go thither in perſon, he conſtituted Gaveſton guardian of the realm, with power to grant congés d'elire for miniſters of cathedral and conventual churches; to take the oath of fealty from prelates at their elections; to reſtore temporalities; diſpoſe of prebends and benefices in the gift

gift of the crown; and beſtow wardſhips that might happen to fall during the king's abſence.

Such an extenſive, and almoſt unlimited power, lodged in the hands of a foreigner, who had ſo lately been baniſhed the kingdom, and was ſtill hated by the majority of the nation, could not fail to be diſagreeable to the nobility; but Edward, regardleſs of their clamours and diſcontent, went over to Boulogne, where he did homage to the king of France for Guienne and Ponthieu; and next day his marriage was ſolemnized in the cathedral of that place with great pomp and ſplendour.

After having ſpent ſome days in mirth and feaſting with the kings of France, Navarre, Germany, and Sicily, three queens, and an infinite number of nobility, who were preſent on this occaſion, he returned to England with his conſort; and on the twenty-fifth day of February * the coronation was performed in Weſtminſter-abbey, by the biſhops of Sarum, Wincheſter, and Chicheſter, commiſſioned for that purpoſe by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was then abroad, and who, though his ſuſpicion

* A. D. 1308.

on had been removed by the pope at the interceſſion of Edward, was yet prevented by ſickneſs from coming over and aſſiſting at the ſolemnity.

The nation hoped that the charms of the young queen would have engroſſed the affections of Edward, and weaned him from his immoderate attachment to Gaveſton; but his love for that favourite ſeemed rather to increaſe; he gave him all the ſumptuous preſents he had received from his father-in-law, conſiſting of fine horſes, rings, jewels, and other curioſities of an immenſe value. He affected to call him brother; and (as if reſpect could be extorted by force) he iſſued a proclamation, commanding all perſons to give him the title of earl of Cornwall, and not to call him by his plain name of Piers Gaveſton.

The favourite could not bear his good fortune with moderation; his head grew giddy with power; he became haughty and overbearing, and looked down upon the Engliſh nobility with the moſt ſupercilious contempt; nor could even the ſacred character of the queen protect her from his ſatyrical reflections. Proud of his own accompliſhments, he deſpiſed thoſe of every other perſon. He held frequent tour-

tournaments, in which he was always ſure to gain the victory.

In the ſplendour and magnificence of his dreſs, he endeavoured to outſhine not only the nobility, but even the king himſelf; and at the coronation, where he carried the imperial crown, he appeared with ſuch faſtidious pomp, that one of the barons could hardly be reſtrained from plunging a dagger in his breaſt.

The barons ſeem to have been apprehenſive of ſome ſuch inſult, and had therefore acquainted the king, that they would not aſſiſt at the ceremony, unleſs Gaveſton ſhould be expelled the kingdom; but, upon obtaining a promiſe that their requeſt ſhould be granted in the enſuing parliament, they thought proper to alter their reſolution.

In the mean time, the king endeavoured to engage ſome of the barons in the intereſt of Gaveſton; but finding all his attempts ineffectual, he began to fortify his towns and caſtles, as if he intended to ſet his ſubjects at defiance. The nobility followed his example; and every thing ſeemed to portend a civil war.*

At

* About this period the whole revenue of the county of Ponthieu was allotted for the maintenance of the queen's houſhold.

At the parliament, which met on the twenty-eighth day of April, the barons appeared in arms, and inſiſted upon the baniſhment of Gaveſton. Some perſons, apprehenſive of the fatal conſequences that might enſue from ſuch a miſunderſtanding between the king and the nobility, interpoſed their good offices, and endeavoured to effect an accommodation; but the barons would liſten to no terms; they ſtill demanded that Gaveſton ſhould abjure the realm before Midſummer, though they conſented to his enjoying his whole eſtate; and the biſhops iſſued a proviſional ſentence of excommunication againſt him, ſhould he remain any longer in the iſland.

Edward, finding it in vain to oppoſe the united voice of the nation, was, at laſt, obliged to give up his favourite; but, in order to conſole him under his diſgrace, he granted the honours of Pec and Cockermouth, with ſeveral manors and caſtles, to the value of three thouſand marks a year, to him and his counteſs, and their heirs for ever.

He likewiſe made him a grant of a large eſtate in Gaſcony; and that he might comply with the letter of the ſentence, and, at the ſame time, elude its ſpirit, he appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland;

empowered him to remove all judges, sheriffs, and officers, and supply their places with others of his own chusing; allotted him the whole revenue of that kingdom for his subsistence; and accompanied him as far as Bristol.

The barons were highly incensed at this disingenuous conduct of his majesty, by which the favourite, instead of being humbled and depressed, was exalted to a state of greater power and grandeur than he had formerly enjoyed; and Edward was so apprehensive of the effects of their resentment, that he published a proclamation, forbidding all persons to appear in arms at the ensuing parliament, and endeavoured to gain over to his side the most powerful of the nobility by promises and presents. The earls of Lincoln and Surrey seem to have yielded to the temptation, and the whole confederacy was dissolved, not one of them adhering to their former resolution, except the earl of Warwick.

Edward seems to have had a greater regard for the gratification of his own passion, than for the real interest of his favourite; for though Gaveston was now placed in a more exalted station than he could enjoy in England, the king could not

not bear the thoughts of living without his company.

He therefore had recourſe to the pope, who abſolved his minion from the oath he had taken to abjure the kingdom for ever, and ſuſpended the ſentence of excommunication which had been iſſued againſt him by the biſhops; but on this expreſs proviſo, that, upon his return, he ſhould ſubmit to the judgment of the church, touching thoſe crimes of which he was accuſed by the nobility.*

Edward ſollicited Clement to free him from this reſtriction; but unable, as he was, to wait the reſult of this application, he recalled Gaveſton, and went to Cheſter to meet him on his return from Ireland. He there received him with ſuch tranſports of joy, that the people were actually convinced he was bewitched; and conducted him to Langley in Hertfordſhire, that he might enjoy his company in private, without being interrupted by his queen or miniſters.

The barons being divided in their ſentiments, were obliged to conceal their indignation at this unmanly conduct of the king, who, in the next parliament, which met at

* A. D. 1309.

Stamford, perſuaded them to conſent that Gaveſton ſhould continue in England without moleſtation. He was ſo over-joyed at this inſtance of complaiſance, that he expended great ſums upon balls, tournaments, and other diverſions, in order to give Gaveſton an opportunity of diſcovering his dexterity and addreſs; but the barons ſcorned to appear at theſe meetings; and the liſts being incloſed at Kennington for a tournament, the pillars were demoliſhed, and the incloſures broken down by perſons unknown.

Though the barons were far from being heartily reconciled to Gaveſton, yet he might have continued to live with tolerable quiet, had he been ſo prudent as to behave with that modeſty and humility which became a perſon of his obſcure birth, and exceptionable conduct; but there are ſome people of ſuch an incorrigible nature, that no experience can reclaim them: he had no ſooner returned to London, than he reſumed his wonted pride and arrogance; he removed a number of people from their places, which he filled with his own creatures, who, being commonly mean and indigent ſycophants, were neither able nor willing to aſſiſt him any longer than he continued to ſupport them. By this means he at once

expoſed

expoſed himſelf to the reſentment of all thoſe whom he had ſtripped of their poſts, without procuring any real addition of ſtrength to his own intereſt.

Such a conduct could not fail to arouſe the indignation of the barons, who were highly incenſed at his arrogance and preſumption; and the earl of Lancaſter, in particular, vowed revenge againſt him, for having diſcarded one of his knights from an office he poſſeſſed.

Gaveſton, not ſatisfied with having provoked the barons by his unwarrantable conduct and inſolent behaviour, affected to laugh at their reſentment; he treated the menaces of his enemies with the moſt ſupreme contempt; and the firſt noblemen of the kingdom, became the object of his ſatire and ridicule.*

Perſonal reflections are commonly found to make a deeper impreſſion upon the mind, than any other injuries. The barons were leſs enraged at his public miſconduct, than at theſe attacks upon their character; and they again began to concert

* He characterized the earl of Lancaſter, by the title of ſtage-player; the earl of Pembroke, by that of Joſeph the Jew; and the earl of Warwick, he called the wild boar of Ardenne.

measures for effecting the ruin of this insolent upstart.

With this view, they proclaimed several tournaments at different places, in order to collect their partizans; but these assemblies were prohibited by the royal authority. The king summoned a parliament at York, on the eighteenth day of October; but no business was done, because the barons refused to obey the summons. Another was appointed to meet at the same place, on the fourth day of November; but as they still refused to attend, on pretence that their persons could not be safe whilst Gaveston was present, he ordered his favourite to withdraw, and adjourned the parliament to the beginning of Lent,* when it was to be held at Westminster.

Conscious, as he was, of having given umbrage to the barons, and dreading the effects of their resentment, he sent particular writs to the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, Pembroke, and Warenne, forbidding them to come armed to parliament, as being derogatory from the honour of the crown, and contrary to the custom of the realm; and the earls of Gloucester, Lincoln, Surrey, and Richmond, undertook for

* A. D. 1310.

for their ſafe-conduct. But, notwithſtanding this inhibition, the diſcontented earls appeared with an infinite number of followers, fully determined to compel his majeſty to reform the abuſes of government.

Edward, whoſe profuſion and want of œconomy kept him always in neceſſitous circumſtances, had taken prize and purveyance, or, in other words, had robbed the people of their effects, in open violation of the ſalutary laws made in the reign of his father; and this inſtance of deſpotic power furniſhed the barons with a popular ſubject of complaint.

They preſented a remonſtrance to his majeſty, in which they inſiſted, at great length, upon the damages ſuſtained by thoſe who had been deprived of their property; they enlarged upon the calamities of the kingdom, impoveriſhed by the prodigality of the king, and the avarice of his miniſters; they repreſented the flouriſhing ſtate of the nation in the reign of his father, and the wretched condition to which it was then reduced; they imputed all theſe evils to the pernicious advice and bad conduct of his ſervants; and they concluded with a demand, that he ſhould allow them to chuſe twelve perſons, veſted with full powers to make

make ordinances for regulating the œconomy of his houſhold, and ſettling the affairs of the nation.

At firſt, he made ſome difficulty in granting their requeſt; but finding they were reſolved to carry their point, even at the hazard of having recourſe to arms, he thought it moſt adviſeable to ſubmit, and iſſued a commiſſion, authorizing the prelates, earls and barons to elect proper perſons for making the propoſed regulations.

Nevertheleſs, the power of electing the ordainers (as they were called) was not veſted in the whole parliament, but in eleven biſhops, eight earls, and thirteen barons, who, in order to conſole his majeſty for this mortification, declared by an authentic deed, that they conſidered this grant not as a privilege to which they had any juſt claim, but merely as the effect of the king's free will; that it ſhould never be drawn into a precedent to the prejudice of his majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors; and that the power of the preſent ordainers ſhould expire at Michaelmas in the enſuing year. This inſtrument being ſigned and confirmed, the ordainers were elected,* and,

* The number of ordainers conſiſted of ſeven biſhops, eight earls, and ſix barons. The prelates were the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of London,

and, on the twentieth day of March, took a ſolemn oath, that in the diſcharge of their office, they would have an equal regard for the honour of the crown, and the good of the nation.*

This

don, Sarum, Chicheſter, Norwich, St. David's, and Llandaff: the earls were, Glouceſter, Lancaſter, Lincoln, Hereford, Pembroke, Richmond, Warwick, and Arundel: the barons were, Hugh de Vere, W. le Mareſchal, Robert Fitz-Roger, Hugh Courtenay, W. Martin, and John de Grey. *Brady.*

* Here Mr. Carte, in his uſual ſtrain, exclaims with great virulence againſt the arrogance and preſumption of the nobility in daring to find fault with the conduct of their ſovereign, and much more in taking upon them to reform the abuſes of government. He entertains us with a long and laboured diſſertation upon the danger of introducing new precedents, however good and excellent, and the prudence of adhering to old cuſtoms, however abſurd and ridiculous. Had this gentleman been born a Hottentot, we ſhould have deſpaired of ever being able to perſuade him to exchange the *old* and *venerable cuſtom* of covering himſelf with the *entrails* of *wild beaſts*, for the *new* and *dangerous practice* of wearing Engliſh *cloth* and Iriſh *linnen*.

But the truth is, Mr. Carte's reaſonings are ſo very weak and inconcluſive, that they are hardly worth the refuting. Was it by adhering to *old cuſtoms* that Peter the Great reformed the Ruſſian nation, and converted a herd of bears into a ſociety of men? Was it by adhering to *old cuſtoms* that the people of England delivered themſelves from their ſlaviſh and diſgraceful ſubjection to the ſee of Rome, and erected

that

This affair being finally ſettled, Edward reſolved to reſume the proſecution of the Scottiſh war, which had been entirely neglected ſince his acceſſion to the throne. Robert

that beautiful ſtructure of the Engliſh church, which, while it contributes to ſtrengthen and ſupport the political conſtitution, is deprived of the power of thwarting its meaſures, or of ſapping its foundation.

The government was, at this time, in the hands of a weak, indolent, and prodigal prince, who was entirely under the influence of a haughty, inſolent, and overbearing minion; to ſupply the neceſſities of the former, the people were ſtripped of their property; and to gratify the pride of the latter, the barons were treated with the utmoſt indignity and contempt; but both the people and the barons, according to Mr. Carte's opinion, ought to have ſat down in ſilence, and ſecretly repined at their misfortunes (though we queſtion much if he would even have allowed them that laſt comfort of the wretched) but they muſt not preſume to complain of their hardſhips, far leſs to deſire a redreſs of their grievances, and on no account whatever, to compel their ſovereign to grant them ſuch a redreſs; if they do, they are (in the language of Mr. Carte) haughty, inſolent and preſumptuous rebels; they not only deſerve the hatred and reſentment of their contemporaries, but even the curſes and imprecations of poſterity.

Would any one believe this to be the language of an Engliſhman? and yet Mr. Carte is an Engliſhman, a true Engliſhman, as he himſelf informs us in his title-page; and indeed he acted wiſely in acquainting us beforehand with this circumſtance; for we ſhould never have been able to collect it from his writings, which breathe a ſpirit more worthy of a French ſlave, than a free-born Briton.

Robert de Brus, who was certainly one of the moſt accompliſhed heroes of the age, and may juſtly be conſidered as the great reſtorer of the Scottiſh monarchy, had been hindered from improving the opportunity of the late king's death by a violent diſtemper, which confined him to his bed for the ſpace of ſix months; and had young Edward been ſo prudent as to continue the war at that period, he might eaſily have reduced the Scots to an entire ſubjection; but his ſudden return at once delivered them from their preſent apprehenſions, and allowed them time to recruit their ſpirits, and collect their forces.

At his departure from Scotland, he beſtowed the command of his troops upon John Cumin of Badenough, who was ſoon after joined by Mowbray with a ſtrong reinforcement; and as Bruce's army was daily growing more formidable, they marched againſt him with a determined reſolution to give him battle. But that prince, who always acted with the greateſt prudence and circumſpection, had poſted his troops in ſuch an advantageous ſituation, that they were afraid to attack him; and as they could not retreat without running the hazard of being attacked in their turn, they

they were obliged to ſue for a truce, which was readily granted.

It was upon the back of this tranſaction that Bruce was ſeized with his diſtemper; and Cumin was no ſooner informed of this circumſtance, than he advanced to Inverury, where the enemy lay encamped, in order to bring them to a battle, hoping, that while they were deprived of the preſence of their leader, he ſhould obtain a cheap victory. But in this he was greatly diſappointed: Robert, whoſe ſpirit was unbroken, though his body was exhauſted with ſickneſs, commanded his attendants to carry him into the field, where he drew up his forces; and being placed on horſeback, ſupported by two of his domeſtics, continued to direct the operations of the battle with equal calmneſs and intrepidity. The Scots, charmed with the preſence of their prince, whom they had not ſeen for a long time, exerted themſelves with ſo much vigour, that Cumin and Mowbray were ſoon defeated; and the joy ariſing from this ſucceſs contributed, in a great meaſure, to the recovery of the victor.

As ſoon as his health was re-eſtabliſhed, he reduced the caſtle of Inverneſs, and over-ran the county of Murray, from which

which he expelled the earl of Buchan; then advancing into Angus, he took the caſtle of Brechin and Forfar, and made himſelf maſter of all the country to the northward of theſe fortreſſes.

As Donald of the Iſles, and John lord of Argyle, ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to his authority, he ſent his brother Edward with a body of troops to reduce the firſt, while he himſelf advanced againſt the latter. Both expeditions were crowned with ſucceſs. Donald was defeated and taken priſoner, and John, after a faint reſiſtance, was obliged to fly into England.

Theſe victories were of the greater conſequence to Bruce, becauſe they enabled him to fit out a fleet to ſcreen the coaſts from the inſults of the Engliſh. Having now made himſelf entire maſter of Scotland, he invaded Northumberland, where he waſted the country without oppoſition; Edward being diſabled by the diſſatisfaction of his barons, and the emptineſs of his exchequer, from marching againſt him in perſon.

In theſe circumſtances, he complied the more readily with the requeſt of his father-in-law the king of France, who propoſed a truce with the Scots, which was accordingly concluded under the mediation of the

earl of Glouceſter, and two papal nuncios. This was a happy event for Robert de Brus, as it afforded him time to ſettle a regular form of government in his new conqueſts, and conciliate the affection of the nobility, who, though they had hitherto oppoſed his authority, were yet ſo charmed with the diſtinguiſhed proofs he had given of his courage and conduct, that they now acknowledged his ſovereignty, and his title was recognized in a full convention of the eſtates.

About the ſame period he received an ambaſſadour from the French king, in the perſon of Oliver des Roches, who paſſed through England by virtue of a ſafe-conduct granted by Edward; and, though this circumſtance could not be ſaid to ſtrengthen his right to the crown, it added conſiderably to his reputation.

Philip hoped he ſhould ſoon be able to accompliſh a ſolid peace between the two nations; but all his endeavours were rendered ineffectual by the reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit of the Scots, who had been ſo long accuſtomed to a military life, that they could not return with eaſe to the purſuit of their civil occupations.

Notwithſtanding the late truce, they invaded the northern counties, where they com-

committed great depredations; and Edward ſummoned his military tenants, to aſſemble at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, by the enſuing Michaelmas, that he might chaſtiſe the enemy for having broke the convention.

The diſcontented barons declining the ſervice, the expedition was laid aſide for that year, and the truce renewed; but this agreement was as ill obſerved as the former; the Scots made freſh inroads into the Engliſh borders, in conſequence of which Edward ſent for Richard de Burgh, with a body of troops from Ireland; ordered a fleet to ſail to the mouth of the Tay for the protection of Perth, which was ſtill in his hands, and commanded his vaſſals to meet him at Berwick, by the eighth day of September.

Though the earls of Lancaſter, Pembroke, Warwick, and Hereford, excuſed themſelves from attending the rendezvous, on pretence of drawing up the ordinances which the committee was empowered to make, Edward reſolved to execute his enterprize; and accordingly entering Scotland, he penetrated as far as Linlithgow, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition.

Bruce, whose troops were raw and undisciplined, was too prudent to hazard a general engagement; but he took care to remove every thing out of the open country that could serve the English for forage or subsistence, and sallied forth from his fastnesses upon their detached parties, which he generally intercepted and cut off; so that Edward, finding his forces gradually diminish, and beginning to be hard pressed for want of provision, returned to Berwick, where he passed the winter.

During his abode in this place, he gave orders for fortifying all his castles in Scotland, and supplying them with plenty of stores and ammunition; and, in the month of March,* he sent Piers Gaveston, with the greatest part of his forces, against Robert de Brus, who had retaken all the fortresses which Edward had reduced in the last campaign. Gaveston advanced beyond the Frith of Forth; but, as the Scots retired to their woods and mountains, and declined a general engagement, he had not an opportunity of performing any action of importance.

Toward the latter end of July, the king set out for London, where he summoned

* A. D. 1311.

ed a parliament to meet on the eighth day of Auguſt, in order to examine and confirm the new ordinances.

Theſe were accordingly delivered to his council, and, upon being peruſed, appeared to be ſo derogatory from the dignity of the crown, that Edward rejected ſeveral articles as inconſiſtent with the nature of the commiſſion, by which they were reſtrained from doing any thing to his prejudice.

The committee, conſcious of their own ſtrength, inſiſted upon every particular; and Edward, dreading the effects of their reſentment, at laſt gave his aſſent, after having proteſted, that, if any of thoſe ordinances ſhould be found injurious to the king, or unauthorized by his commiſſion, they ſhould be deemed null and void; and he reſerved to himſelf a power of correcting and reforming the articles, by the advice of the ordainers and others.

The ordinances being approved by the parliament, the lords and commons, together with the mayor and aldermen of London, took a ſolemn oath that they would obſerve them with the utmoſt punctuality: on the twenty-ſeventh of September they were publiſhed by the prelates, earls, and barons, in St. Paul's church-yard, and next

day in the cathedral by the king's council; and, on the tenth of October, copies of them were tranſmitted to all the ſheriffs in England, with orders to publiſh them in their ſeveral diſtricts.

By theſe ordinances it was enacted, that the church ſhould enjoy her franchiſes: that the peace ſhould be kept: that the two charters ſhould be obſerved: that the cuſtoms ſhould be collected by natives, and paid into the exchequer, from whence the money ſhould be iſſued by the treaſurer and chamberlains, for the maintenance of the houſhold, that the king might live upon his own revenue, without being obliged to oppreſs the ſubject: that Emery Frenobalde, and his partners, by whom the cuſtoms had hitherto been farmed, ſhould account for their receipts within a fortnight after Michaelmas, on pain of being arreſted, ſtripped of their effects, and treated as public enemies: that no prizes ſhould be taken by the king's officers, without the owner's conſent: that the duty of three ſhillings upon every tun of wine ſhould be no longer collected: that the juriſdiction of the ſteward, and mareſchal of the king's court, ſhould be limited to cauſes concerning the officers of the houſhold, or ſuch as lived within the verge of the court; that it ſhould be deem-

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ed felony in any one to take corn, goods, or merchandize, under a falſe pretence of purveyance for the king: that ſheriffs ſhould be appointed by the chancellor, treaſurer, king's council, barons of the exchequer, and juſtices of the king's bench, and that none ſhould be entruſted with the office but ſuch as had lands of ſufficient value to anſwer for their actions: that parliaments ſhould be held once a year: that the coin of the kingdom ſhould not be altered, but for very cogent reaſons, and by the conſent of the baronage: that all perſons proſecuted unjuſtly, and acquitted, ſhould be entitled to damages: that none ſhould be appealed maliciouſly, or outlawed in counties where they had no lands or tenements: that they ſhould neither forfeit their eſtates, nor loſe their lives, provided they ſhould ſurrender themſelves to the king's priſon to ſtand trial: that pardons for robbery, and other felonies, ſhould not be granted without good reaſon; but be deemed void, unleſs agreeable to the king's oath, the courſe of the law, and the cuſtom of the kingdom: that all privy-ſeals for ſtopping law, or common right, on falſe pretences of being in the ſervice of the crown, ſhould be declared void, and the plaintiff recover damages on diſcovery of the

the deceit: that the juriſdiction of the court of exchequer ſhould be confined to ſuch pleas as concerned the crown, the officers of the exchequer, and their menial ſervants: that acquittances ſhould be given for debts paid, and accounts paſſed in the exchequer; or, if denied, the plaintiff ſhould have redreſs in parliament: that all grants of lands, caſtles, towns, offices, wards, and eſcheats, in any part of the king's dominions, made ſince the ſixteenth of March in the foregoing year, ſhould be reſumed by the crown, and not renewed to the ſame perſons, without the advice of the barons, or the conſent of the parliament; and that all grants which might be made before the king's debts ſhould be paid, and his revenue improved, ſhould be deemed null and void, and the procurers of ſuch be puniſhed by the award of the baronage: that all evil counſellors ſhould be removed from the king's perſon, particularly Henry de Beaumont, and his ſiſter the lady Veſey, who had obtained grants from the king, diſhonourable to the dignity and prejudicial to the prerogatives of the crown: that whereas Piers Gaveſton had given evil counſel to his majeſty, removed all perſons of integrity and abilities from the public offices, and ſupplied their places with his own

own weak and worthleſs creatures, embezzled the king's treaſure, impoveriſhed the realm, by obtaining unreaſonable grants, and procuring blank charters which he filled up according to his own pleaſure; protected robbers, arrogated to himſelf the regal power and dignity, and formed aſſociations inconſiſtent with the laws of the land, he ſhould, for theſe miſdemeanours, abjure the kingdom for ever before the firſt of November; and if found in any part of his majeſty's dominions after that day, ſhould be treated as an enemy to the public: that the king ſhould not leave the realm, nor declare war againſt any prince or potentate, without the conſent of the barons: that upon his quitting the kingdom, with their conſent, a guardian of the realm ſhould be appointed by the parliament, which ſhould alſo nominate the chief officers of ſtate, of the houſhold, of the revenue, and of juſtice, as well as the keepers of foreſts, the eſcheators on both ſides the Trent, and, in a word, all perſons employed under the crown in any part of his majeſty's dominions: that all perſons in office ſhould take an oath to obſerve theſe ordinances; and that one biſhop, two earls, and as many barons, ſhould be choſen in every parliament, to receive complaints againſt the king's

king's miniſters, and others, who ſhould violate theſe ordinances, and puniſh the offenders at diſcretion.

All the ordinances that were agreeable to the nature of the commiſſion were confirmed before the ſeſſion broke up; but as Edward reſolved that thoſe which encroached upon his prerogative ſhould be reformed and corrected, he adjourned the parliament to the fifth of November.

The ordinance commanding the baniſhment of Gaveſton was what gave the king the greateſt uneaſineſs; yet even with this clauſe, however hard and diſagreeable, he was obliged to comply; and he did ſo with the leſs reluctance, in hopes that this ſacrifice would induce the barons to ſoften the rigour of the other articles at their next meeting.

He was miſtaken; the earls of Glouceſter, Lancaſter, Hereford, Pembroke, Warwick, and Arundel, appeared in parliament, with numerous trains of armed followers, and refuſed to reform the ordinances until they ſhould be fully aſſured of the baniſhment of Gaveſton, who, they alledged, was ſtill lurking in Cornwall, or ſome of the weſtern counties. The king ordered ſtrict ſearch to be made for him in thoſe parts; and though he could not be

be found, the barons declined correcting the ordinances, and the parliament was immediately diſſolved.

Whether they were really convinced that Gaveſton was ſtill in England, or only laid hold of this pretext for evading the king's propoſal with regard to the amendment of the ordinances, certain it is that favourite had actually gone abroad, and taken up his reſidence at Bruges.

But he was not ſuffered long to continue in that retreat; Edward, who could not bear the thoughts of living without his darling, gave him a private invitation to come back to England, in conſequence of which he returned about Chriſtmas to York, where he was received by his majeſty with every demonſtration of joy; and, ſoon after his arrival, he was declared a faithful ſubject, re-inſtated in the poſſeſſion of his lands, and loaded with new favours.*

The barons were equally incenſed at the arrogance and preſumption of Gaveſton, and the weakneſs and inſincerity of the king, whom they openly accuſed of having violated the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom, and particularly of having infringed the

* A. D. 1312.

the late ordinances, which he had so solemnly promised to observe.

To prevent the bad effects of this report, the king issued a proclamation, in which he declared that he was firmly resolved to adhere to the laws, and maintain all the ordinances, except such as were injurious to the royal prerogative, and destructive of the constitution of the country.

At the same time, as a proof of his sincerity, he gave a commission to the bishop of Norwich and others, to treat with the ordainers about the reformation of those articles that entrenched upon the rights of the crown, and exceeded the bounds of the commission, by virtue of which they had been enacted; but the discontented barons, who were then assembled at London, refused to enter upon that subject in his majesty's absence; though they declared they were willing to treat with him in person, and gratify him in every reasonable demand.

This shew of moderation, however, was but a mere pretence; for they now seem to have formed a design to abridge the power of the crown, and extend their own privileges; with which view some of them were suspected of having connived

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at the progreſs of Robert de Brus in Scotland.

They had certainly tranſgreſſed the limits of their commiſſion in drawing up the ordinances, ſome of which were altogether inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution at that period; but, conſcious, as they were, of their own ſtrength and the king's weakneſs, they were firmly reſolved to carry their point.

Though the abſolute diſpoſal of the great offices of the crown was no longer lodged in the hands of his majeſty, yet he was allowed even by the ordinances to ſupply the vacancies for the time being, till the next meeting of the parliament; and accordingly he now gave the poſt of treaſurer, during that period, to Walter biſhop of Litchfield, whom, after a ſtrict inquiſition into his conduct, he had found to be innocent, and again received into his favour.

While Walter was a priſoner, and under perſecution, the barons had interceded in his behalf, probably out of hatred to Gaveſton, who was conſidered as the author of his misfortunes; but now that he was reſtored to his former dignity, they took umbrage at his promotion. As he was ſitting in the court of Exchequer,

on the third day of April, the earls of Pembroke and Hereford, attended by John de Botetourt and other knights, entered the place, and asked whether or not he had taken the oath for observing the late ordinances? when he answered in the affirmative, they discharged him from acting as treasurer, on pain of being deemed and treated as an enemy to the public; they likewise commanded the chamberlains under the same penalty, to issue no money out of the exchequer to any person whatsoever; and then withdrew.

Apprehensive, however, as they were, that the treasurer might continue to execute this office, notwithstanding their inhibition, they prevailed upon the archbishop of Canterbury to excommunicate him for perjury, in breaking the oath he had taken to observe the ordinances; and tho' Walter appealed from the sentence, he was yet obliged to go as far as Avignon, before he could be absolved.

This was not the only service that Winchelsey performed to the barons; for he soon after found means to detach John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, from the interest of the king, and engage him in their party. Thus strengthened, and having now concerted the proper measures for effecting their

their purpoſe, they began with a demand, that Gaveſton ſhould either be put into their hands, or immediately expelled the kingdom.

Edward refuſing to grant their requeſt, the archbiſhop fulminated a ſentence of excommunication againſt the favourite; and the barons reſolving to take up arms, appointed tournaments in different places, that they might collect their forces without giving the leaſt cauſe of ſuſpicion. Having thus aſſembled a good number of troops, they preſently united their parties, ſo as to form a formidable army, the command of which they beſtowed upon the earl of Lancaſter, whom they choſe for their general.

The king had lately removed from York to Newcaſtle, where he then reſided in great ſecurity; for though he was apprehenſive that matters would ſoon come to extremities, and in that view had ordered the count de Foix to levy a body of Gaſcons for his ſervice, he little imagined that he ſhould be attacked ſo ſuddenly. Lancaſter was not ignorant of the king's ſituation, and hoping to ſurprize him unawares, advanced to Newcaſtle, with ſuch expedition, that he had reached within few miles of the place before Edward had the leaſt

notice of his approach; ſo that he was glad to retire to Tinmouth, where he took ſhipping with his retinue. He ſet Gaveſton aſhore at the caſtle of Scarborough, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the north of England, and he himſelf landed at Knareſborough, from whence he proceeded to York.

Lancaſter was no ſooner informed of the place of Gaveſton's retreat, than he ſent the earls of Surrey and Pembroke, Henry de Piercy, and Robert de Clifford, with a good body of troops, to beſiege the caſtle of Scarborough, while he took poſt with the reſt of his army between that place and York, in order to cut off all communication between the king and his favourite.

Edward, apprized of theſe proceedings, commanded the barons to raiſe the ſiege; but they paid no regard to his orders, being fully determined to continue their attacks, until they ſhould have made themſelves maſters of the place, or at leaſt of Gaveſton's perſon. This nobleman, who was by no means deficient either in bravery or military ſkill, ſuſtained ſeveral aſſaults with undaunted courage, but ſeeing no proſpect of relief, and conſcious of his utter inability to reſiſt the efforts of ſuch a powerful

ful army, he offered to capitulate, and delivered himſelf into the hands of Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, upon this expreſs condition, that he ſhould be kept in ſafe cuſtody till the firſt of Auguſt, by which time the earls might came to ſome reſolution concerning his perſon; and if he ſhould not chuſe to agree to the terms they might then propoſe, he ſhould be reſtored to his former ſtate, and put in poſſeſſion of the caſtle which he now ſurrendered.

The king adviſed him to accept of theſe terms, in hopes of being able to aſſemble an army before the time ſpecified; and the earl of Pembroke, with Henry de Piercy, bound themſelves to perform the articles, on pain of loſing their lands and tenements. Aymer propoſed to conduct the priſoner to the caſtle of Wellingford, which belonged to Gaveſton as earl of Cornwall; but left him at Dedington in Oxfordſhire, on pretence of paſſing a night with his wife, who reſided in the neighbourhood.

Guy earl of Warwick having aſſembled the Poſſe Comitatus, ſurrounded the houſe in which Gaveſton was lodged; and his guards being unable to oppoſe ſuch a powerful party, he was ſeized and carried to

the caſtle of Warwick. Thither the earls of Lancaſter, Hereford, and Arundel repaired, in order to decide the fate of the priſoner; and it being determined to put him to death as an enemy to the public, he was removed to a place called Blacklow-hill, now Gaverſike, and beheaded by a Welchman provided for that purpoſe. Lancaſter is ſaid to have viewed the head, when ſtruck off from the body, with marks of brutal joy; and indeed the whole ſcene was a mixture of the baſeſt perfidy, and the moſt ſavage barbarity; for if Gaveſton was really guilty of the crimes of which he was accuſed (and it is very probable he was) it would have been more for the honour of his enemies, and more conſiſtent with juſtice, to have given him a fair trial, and brought him to the block by a legal condemnation. His body was carried to the convent of the Dominican friars at Oxford, where it lay for ſome time unburied, on account of the ſentence of excommunication under which he died; but it was removed from thence about two years after, and ſumptuouſly interred at Langley in Hertfordſhire.

Such was the end of Piers Gaveſton, who had enjoyed the favour of his prince in a higher degree, than, perhaps, any other

other ſubject in England had ever done; and at laſt fell a victim to his own vanity, inſolence, and avarice, by which he had inflamed the barons and people with ſuch an implacable reſentment againſt him, that the news of his death was every where received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy.

The earl of Pembroke being ſuſpected of having acted in concert with thoſe who had deprived Gaveſton of life, complained loudly of the aſperſion caſt upon his character; and entreated the aſſiſtance of Glouceſter, in vindicating his honour, and ſaving his lands from being forfeited.

He made the ſame complaints in a convocation of the univerſity of Oxford, and afterwards abandoned the cauſe of the barons. The king, either convinced of his innocence, or glad of ſuch an addition of ſtrength, admitted his apologies, and received him into his ſervice; but as Henry de Piercy refuſed to come to court, he was reputed guilty; his lands were forfeited, according to the nature of the bond he had ſigned, and an order was iſſued for ſeizing his perſon.

The king had left York, immediately after Gaveſton's capitulation, and advanced as far north as Berwick, where he was ſurprized

prized with the news of his favourite's death. Inflamed, as he was, with the most implacable resentment against the perpetrators of this barbarous deed, he immediately set out for London, where he was advised by the earl of Pembroke, Hugh le d'Espenser, and the lords Beaumont and Mauley, to raise an army, and revenge such a flagrant insult upon the royal authority.

With this view he summoned a parliament to meet about the middle of August, repaired to Dover, where he fortified the castle, received the oath of allegiance from the barons of the Cinque-Ports, sollicited succours from France, and, having assembled a considerable body of forces, returned directly to London.

At the same time he summoned all those who held lands to the amount of forty pounds a year, to come and receive the honour of knighthood; and appointed commissioners to treat about reforming the ordidinances in the next parliament.

The malecontents, however, refused to obey the summons; and as they neither came to parliament, nor sent any apology, fresh orders were issued, forbidding them to raise forces, and discharging all persons from joining in their rebellious measures. The barons, regardless of these orders, appointed

pointed tournaments in different places, and aſſembled a body of troops ſuperior in number to the royal army.

At the head of theſe the earl of Lancaſter advanced towards London; and a civil war muſt certainly have been the conſequence, had not this terrible calamity been happily prevented, by the mediation of the earls of Glouceſter and Richmond, the count of Evreux the French ambaſſador, cardinal Arnaud and the biſhop of Poitiers, the pope's nuncios, who interpoſed their good offices, and effected an accommodation between the king and the barons.

Under their auſpices a treaty was ſet on foot, and a ſafe-conduct granted to the earl of Hereford, and the lords Clifford and Botetourt, that they might come and treat about the terms. As the commiſſioners were extremely ſlow in their deliberations, the earl of Lancaſter was furniſhed with a ſafe-conduct. The king was ſo overjoyed at the ſafe delivery of his queen, who, on the thirteenth of November, was brought to bed of her eldeſt ſon Edward at Windſor, that he ſeemed to have forgot the loſs of Gaveſton, and ſent word to the barons that he was ready to comply with all their reaſonable demands.

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They inſiſted upon a confirmation of all the ordinances, without exception; and upon a full and free pardon for the death of Gaveſton, whom they branded with the appellation of a traitor. Edward, at firſt, refuſed to agree to this condition; but, on the twentieth day of December, the treaty was concluded on the following terms; that the barons ſhould come before the king in Weſtminſter-hall, and aſk pardon on their knees; that they ſhould reſtore the horſes, arms, jewels, plate, and all the other effects of Gaveſton, which they had ſeized at Newcaſtle; that they, and their adherents, ſhould have a full pardon for the death of Gaveſton, and the hoſtilities they had committed againſt the king; that a like pardon ſhould be granted to thoſe who had harboured, or aſſiſted, that unhappy favourite ſince his exile; that a proviſion ſhould be made, by the common conſent of the prelates, earls, and barons, for prohibiting all perſons from coming to parliament in arms; that, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, a reaſonable aid ſhould be granted for the ſupport of the war in Scotland; and that Henry de Piercy ſhould recover the poſſeſſion of his lands and honours.

In the courſe of this year was held the firſt ſeſſion of the council of Vienne, where Philip

Philip the Fair, with three of his ſons and his brother Charles de Valois, appeared in great pomp and ſplendour. Clement V. who now filled the papal chair, informed the aſſembly that he had convened them to deliberate about an expedition to Paleſtine, and the fate of the Knights Templars, who had been ſeized and impriſoned in all the ſtates of Europe, on account of certain atrocious crimes of which they were accuſed.

But the real cauſe of their diſgrace ſeems to have been their great power and riches, which awakened the jealouſy and envy of the European princes; for they were now poſſeſſed of no leſs than ſixteen thouſand lordſhips, beſides other lands and tenements.

Philip the Fair had formed a ſcheme of raiſing one of his younger ſons to the throne of Jeruſalem, and aſſigning the lands of the Templars as a conſtant revenue to ſupport his dignity. He therefore reſolved to aboliſh that order in his own dominions, and, the better to accompliſh his purpoſe, preferred an accuſation againſt them, conſiſting of ſuch articles as rendered them the objects of univerſal hatred and deteſtation.

Two infamous perſons, the one named Noſſo Dei, a Florentine, and the other the prior of Montfaucon, who had been expelled from the order, accuſed them of denying Chriſt at their admiſſion, of ſpitting and trampling upon the croſs, and of worſhipping a wooden head with a large beard. They were likewiſe charged with certain unnatural crimes, which modeſty forbids us to mention; and their pride, luxury, and arrogance, had raiſed them ſuch an infinite number of enemies, that almoſt every perſon wiſhed for their downfal.

Upon the evidence of theſe two wretches, Philip ordered all the Templars in his dominions to be ſeized in one day; and all their goods and eſtates to be confiſcated. Having thus got their perſons in his power, he endeavoured to prevail upon the moſt profligate among them, to make ſuch a confeſſion as would moſt effectually ſerve his purpoſe. He is even ſaid to have been guilty of a more flagrant act of diſingenuity and injuſtice in this matter.

The great maſter and other chiefs of the order, though all men of quality, were entirely ignorant of Latin, and could neither read nor write; and Philip is ſaid to have forged confeſſions, and to have perſuaded them to put their names to a paper, under pretence

pretence that it was no more than an acknowledgement of ſome trifling irregularities; whereas it was a full confeſſion of the moſt heinous and atrocious crimes.

When this was afterwards read in their preſence, before the pope's deputies, they expreſſed the utmoſt ſurprize and indignation, and boldly diſavowed the ſchedule as a baſe and villainous impoſition. This denial was deemed a relapſe; and above threeſcore were burnt at Paris, declaring, with their dying breath, that they were entirely innocent of the crimes laid to their charge.

Edward being informed of theſe violent meaſures, interceded in their favour with the pope, and the kings of Caſtile, Arragon, and Sicily; but Clement, who had been raiſed to the papal throne by Philip, on this expreſs condition, that he would aboliſh the order, ſent a letter to the king of England, deſiring that all the Knights Templars, in his dominions, might be impriſoned, and their eſtates ſequeſtered.

Edward granted his requeſt; and the pope deputed two commiſſaries to enquire into the crimes of which they were accuſed; examinations were taken at London, York, and ſeveral other places; but, after the moſt ſevere ſcrutiny, nothing could be

proved againſt them which could juſtify the deſtruction of their order.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury convoked a provincial ſynod at London, to decide this affair; but, notwithſtanding the immenſe number of falſe witneſſes who appeared againſt them, the members refuſed to condemn them, or publiſh the ſentence of excommunication proviſionally denounced by the pope, in caſe they ſhould be found guilty.

Winchelſey, reſolving to ſet out for the council of Vienne, committed the examination of the charge of hereſy to Robert de Pickering, his vicar-general, who ſummoned a new ſynod, and, producing the ſpurious confeſſions of ſeventy-two Templars who had been burnt at Paris, perſuaded the clergy to condemn the knights as heretics. Every Templar was ordered to abjure all hereſy; acknowledge that his character was irretrievably ruined by the pope's bull; and ſubmit himſelf to the grace of God, and the decrees of the council.

As Clement was fully reſolved to aboliſh the order of Templars, and yet foreſaw that he would be ſtrongly oppoſed by the more moderate part of the aſſembly, he took an effectual method to carry his point. In the very firſt ſeſſion, he entered the houſe attended

tended by the kings of France and Navarre; and having inhibited all perſons, on pain of the greater excommunication, from ſpeaking one word in that council without his permiſſion, declared that though he could not diſſolve the order legally, he yet adjudged it to be ſo by the plentitude of his power; and that he reſerved all their lands and effects to his own diſpoſal.

Theſe he afterwards granted to the knights Hoſpitallers, who had lately reduced the iſle of Rhodes, and done great ſervice againſt the Infidels. Two cardinals were ſent to ſee this bull executed in England; and the Hoſpitallers petitioned, by their procurators, that they might be put in poſſeſſion of the goods and eſtates of the other order; but the king delayed his anſwer, until he ſhould have taken the advice of his nobility.*

The earls and barons had already ſeized all the lands which their anceſtors had granted to the Templars, alledging, that the property of theſe lands naturally reverted to them as heirs of the founders, upon the diſſolution of the order; and ten years elapſed before they could be perſuaded to yield them to the Hoſpitallers.

* A. D. 1313.

Mean while, Robert de Brus having no enemy to oppose him in the field, proceeded with great rapidity in reducing all the places of strength in Scotland. He took the castles of Bute, Dumfries, and several other fortresses, and making an irruption into Northumberland, laid the country under contribution.

In the course of the following winter, he took Perth by assault; Sir James Douglas reduced Roxburgh; and the castle of Edinburgh was taken by Thomas Randolph, earl of Murray.

Robert, having thus reduced all the fortresses in the kingdom, except Stirling, Dunbar, and Berwick, detached his brother Edward with a strong body of forces to besiege the first of these, while he himself attempted to surprize the last; but the garrison being alarmed by the barking of a dog, the place was saved for that time.

Edward, terrified at the rapid progress of Bruce's arms, listened to the suggestions of the French king, who proposed a treaty between the Scots and the English; but before it could be brought to a conclusion, Edward, who was desirous of assisting at the knighthood and coronation of his queen's brother Lewis, king of Navarre

yarre, ſet out for Paris, leaving his nephew, the earl of Glouceſter, guardian of the realm.

He was ſo much charmed with the pomp and ſplendour of the French court, that he ſpent a greater time in Paris, than he at firſt intended, or, indeed, than the unſettled ſtate of his affairs could well admit; and during his abode in that place, he ſent a commiſſion to the biſhops of Bath and Worceſter, and the earls of Richmond and Glouceſter, to hold a parliament, in order to confirm the act of ſecurity and pardon. But the great lords, piqued at his long abſence, and uncertain when he would return, retired to their own eſtates; and though he found the parliament ſitting at his arrival in England, no buſineſs of any importance was done, becauſe the earls, on whoſe account it had been aſſembled, were abſent.

He hoped he ſhould have been able to have obtained a ſubſidy; but being diſappointed in that expectation, he diſſolved the aſſembly, and borrowed money from the biſhops and abbots, to raiſe an army againſt the Scots, who threatened to invade the northern counties.

Another parliament being aſſembled at Weſtminſter on the twenty-third of September,

tember, the great lords attended, were graciously received by the king, and assured of a perfect reconciliation; the earls dined one day with his majesty, as he himself did the next with the earl of Lancaster; the acts of pardon and security were passed and published on the fifteenth of October; particular pardons under the great seal were granted to the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Warwick, and about five hundred of their adherents by name; and an ordinance was issued by assent of the barons, declaring it to be part of the royal prerogative to prohibit all persons from coming to parliament in arms.

A good understanding being thus re-established between the king and his nobility, the earls, barons, knights, and commons voted a twentieth of their revenues, the citizens and burgesses gave a fifteenth of their effects towards the support of the war in Scotland, where the natives, that still adhered to the English interest, were hard pressed by the party of Bruce, and had deputed Patrick earl of Marche, and Adam Gordon, to represent their distress, and sollicit immediate assistance.

Edward had already resolved to undertake an expedition into Scotland, to defray the

the expence of which he had mortgaged the revenues of Guienne to the pope for one hundred and ſixty thouſand florins of gold. He had likewiſe borrowed two thouſand marks from cardinal Teſta, and ſent briefs to almoſt all the clergy in England, demanding from each a ſum in proportion to his abilities.

He had ſent back the Scottiſh deputies, with a promiſe of being at Berwick by the feaſt of St. John the Baptiſt, and began to make great preparations for oppoſing the progreſs of Robert de Brus, who had now eſtabliſhed a regular form of government, aſſembled a numerous and well-diſciplined army, and made himſelf maſter of the Iſle of Man.

His brother Edward had been employed for ſome time in the ſiege of Stirling Caſtle, which was defended by Mowbray with ſuch undaunted reſolution, that, after ſeveral aſſaults, in which the aſſailants were always repulſed with conſiderable loſs, both ſides agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms for one year; at the end of which the place was to be delivered up, if not relieved before that time by the Engliſh.

On the twelfth day of December, king Edward ſailed from Dover to Boulogne, and as the cauſe of this voyage was never

ver known, it afforded great matter of ſpeculation: however, he returned home on the twentieth of the ſame month, and ſoon after writs were iſſued, commanding all his military tenants to attend him at Berwick with horſe and arms, on the tenth day of June in the enſuing year.

In the month of January, a parliament was aſſembled in order to examine the ordinances; but the king's council declaimed againſt them with ſo much warmth and vehemence, as articles injurious to the crown, and ſubverſive of the conſtitution, that they were rejected by a majority; and for this reaſon the earl of Lancaſter, and the other aſſociated barons, refuſed to ſerve in the Scottiſh expedition.*

The ſeſſion was ſcarce finiſhed when Edward received advice that the Scots had invaded England, where they committed great depredations. In conſequence of this information, he ſent orders to the Cinque-Ports, and other maritime towns, to fit out a fleet, and be at Berwick by the day of rendezvous. Mean while, he detached the earl of Pembroke (whom he appointed guardian of Scotland) to oppoſe the progreſs

* A. D. 1314.

greſs of the enemy in the north; he wrote to the earl of Ulſter, and to all the Iriſh chieftains, to aſſemble their followers, and come to his aſſiſtance; he ordered new levies to be made in Yorkſhire, and other parts of the realm, and collected a more numerous and formidable army, than that with which the late king had accompliſhed the conqueſt of Scotland.

Having paſſed the Eaſter-holidays at Ely, he repaired to York, from whence he proceeded to Berwick, where he arrived in the beginning of June. As the time for the ſurrender of Stirling was now approaching, he reſolved to advance to the relief of that place; and accordingly began his march, at the head of one hundred thouſand men, attended by a prodigious number of waggons and other carriages, loaded with baggage and proviſions. The Engliſh, truſting to the ſuperiority of their numbers, proceeded with the moſt careleſs ſecurity, as if they had been going not to fight but to triumph.*

They

* If we may believe the Scottiſh hiſtorians, Edward was ſo confident of ſucceſs, that he carried along with him a large quantity of chains and fetters, to ſecure his priſoners. The ſame authors aſſure us, that he was accompanied by a rhyming Carmelite friar, who was probably the poet-laureat of

They were permitted to advance without interruption from Bruce, who was determined to venture a battle; and with that view, had encamped in the neighbourhood of Stirling, where he waited the approach of the Engliſh. His army amounted to about thirty thouſand men, brave, hardy, and experienced, and firmly reſolved to die or conquer, in maintaining the liberty and independence of their country.

With theſe he took poſt upon a piece of ground defended on one ſide by an impaſſable moraſs, and on the other by an inacceſſible mountain; by which means his flanks were effectually ſecured from the attacks of the Engliſh cavalry. His front was defended by a rivulet called Bannockburn, in the channel of which he had digged deep holes, and planted ſharp ſtakes, for checking the firſt onſet of the enemy's horſe. Large pits were likewiſe made between this rivulet and his camp, furniſhed with the ſame deſtructive inſtruments, and carefully covered with turf and boughs,

of the age, and who being taken priſoner, was obliged to celebrate the victory, not of his countrymen, but of his enemies. His poem is ſaid to have begun with the following barbarous verſes:

De planctu ludo metrum cum carmine nudo,
Riſum retrudo, dum tali themate ludo;

boughs, in order to conceal them from the ſight of the aggreſſors.

As the van of Edward's army was advancing towards Stirling, under the command of the earls of Glouceſter and Hereford, Henry de Bohun, obſerving a body of Scots at the corner of a wood, attacked them at the head of a detachment of Welch cavalry, and was decoyed into an ambuſh by Robert de Brus, who ruſhed out upon them from a thicket, and, riding up to Bohun, cleft his head with a battle-ax.

The Engliſh being ſupported by a body from their rear, a ſharp action enſued, in which the earl of Glouceſter was unhorſed, and the lord Clifford repulſed with conſiderable loſs. As both parties received continual reinforcements from their reſpective armies, this ſkirmiſh might poſſibly have ended in a general engagement, had not night put an end to the fray.

The Engliſh, afraid of being attacked in the dark, lay all night upon their arms; and they, as well as their horſes, were ſo much exhauſted with the length of the march, and the want of reſt, that all the veteran officers propoſed delaying the battle for a few days, until the people ſhould have recruited their ſpirits. This prudent advice was rejected by

by the young nobility, who conſidered it as the effect of fear and cowardice; and accordingly it was determined to attack the enemy in the morning.

The troops were accordingly marſhalled in the following order; the wings, compoſed of cavalry, were headed by the earls of Glouceſter and Hereford, and the king in perſon commanded the main body. Bruce drew up his men in three lines, and a body of reſerve, which was conducted by Douglas, and the lord high ſteward of Scotland: his brother Edward commanded the right wing; the left was led by Randolph; and he himſelf took his ſtation in the centre.

When the Engliſh army was ready to engage, a diſpute aroſe between the earls Glouceſter and Hereford, about the poſt of honour; which the former claimed by hereditary right, as having been always enjoyed by his anceſtors; and the latter by the nature of his office, as conſtable of England. This queſtion was ſtarted at a very unſeaſonable juncture, as there was no time to ſettle the difference by a fair and equitable trial; and Glouceſter, being young and headſtrong, and eager to maintain his right, ſprung forward to the charge with great impetuoſity. But his career

was

was ſoon checked, by the hidden pits and trenches, into which the horſes fell, and were ſtaked in a moſt terrible manner.

This unexpected misfortune occaſioned a general confuſion; and the Scots, improving the opportunity, ruſhed in upon them with irreſiſtible fury, and put the greateſt part of them to the ſword. The earl of Glouceſter's horſe being killed, he fell to the ground, and, unable to riſe, through the weight of his armour, he was ſoon trodden to death. Sir Giles de Argentein, obſerving his diſaſter, advanced to his relief; but that brave and experienced officer, together with Robert de Clifford, Payen de Tibetot, and William Mareſchal, periſhed in the attempt.

Notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, the Engliſh archers advanced againſt the right wing of the enemy, upon whom they poured ſuch thick and repeated ſhowers of arrows, that they began to give way; when Douglas and the ſteward, taking a compaſs with their body of reſerve, attacked the Engliſh in flank, and routed them with great ſlaughter. In the mean time, Edward having paſſed the rivulet, at the head of his main body, was warmly received by Robert de Brus, who fought in the front

line of his army, with the most undaunted valour.

The English were already disheartened by the great loss they had sustained, when the boys, servants, and other followers of the Scottish camp, who viewed the battle from a neighbouring hill, observing the success of Douglas and the steward, began to raise a terrible shout, and run towards the field for the sake of plunder.

The English, alarmed at the noise, and perceiving such numbers advancing, imagined they were fresh troops coming to the assistance of the enemy; and, upon this supposition, betook themselves to a precipitate flight. Those who were left about the king, carried him off the field towards the castle of Stirling, into which, however, the governour refused to receive him, because he was bound by the articles of capitulation to deliver up the place to the conqueror; so that Edward was obliged to fly to Dunbar, where he was hospitably entertained by Patrick earl of Marche, the old and faithful friend of his family.

Bruce did not fail to improve this advantage, which he soon converted into a complete victory. Great numbers of the English were killed, as well in the pursuit

as

as in the field; and hardly would any have escaped, had not the Scots been more eager to seize the baggage, than apprehend the persons of their enemies; and, indeed, the plunder is said to have amounted in value to two hundred thousand pounds. The earl of Hereford, John Giffard, John de Wilyngton, the earl of Angus, the lords Monthermer, Piercy, Nevill, Scroope, Lucy, Acton, Latimer, Seagrave, Berkley, Beauchamp, and other barons, to the number of two and twenty, were taken prisoners, together with a prodigious multitude of bannerets and knights.

The Scottish historians have swelled the number of the slain to seven hundred lords, knights, and esquires, and fifty thousand common soldiers; but, according to the best accounts, there were about one hundred and fifty-four of the former killed, and near twenty thousand of the latter.

Nor was it a bloodless victory on the side of the Scots, who, by their own confession, lost about four thousand of their best men in the field of battle. Edward was pursued in his flight by Sir James Douglas, at the head of seven hundred horse, which seem to have been all the

cavalry the Scots had in the action; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he reached the caſtle of Dunbar, where, at laſt, he arrived in ſuch a pannic, that he made a vow to found a houſe in Oxford for four and twenty Carmelite friars, if providence ſhould be ſo kind as to deliver him from his preſent danger.

Though Douglas was in no condition to force the caſtle, he yet continued to hover about it, in hopes of intercepting Edward, in caſe he ſhould attempt to eſcape by land; and the king finding the roads beſet, was obliged to make as diſgraceful a retreat as that which Xerxes made from Greece; for, getting on board a fiſher-boat, or ſmall veſſel, he was tranſported to Berwick, where he thought himſelf out of the reach of his enemies. Robert de Brus derived leſs glory from the ſucceſs of his arms, than from the noble uſe he made of his victory. He treated his priſoners with great humanity. He expreſſed a ſenſible concern for the death of Sir Giles de Argentein, for whom he had a particular regard. The bodies of the earl of Glouceſter and lord Clifford were ſent back to Edward; the the lord Monthermer, being an ancient friend of the Bruſſian family was diſmiſſed with-

without ranſom: and the other priſoners were aſſured of liberty as ſoon as a reaſonable cartel ſhould be ſettled.

Nor was Brus more to be commended for his courage and intrepidity in battle, than his equity and moderation in ſucceſs. Inſtead of making an irruption into England, while the whole kingdom was thrown into the utmoſt deſpondency by the late diſaſter, he offered terms of peace to Edward; and commiſſioners were appointed by both princes to fix the conditions upon which it ſhould be concluded. Conferences were accordingly begun at Durham, but the Scottiſh deputies demanding, as a preliminary, that the king ſhould acknowledge Bruce's title, and the independency of their crown, Edward, weak and dejected as he was, would not agree to theſe terms, and the negotiation was broken off.

Edward having ſtrengthened the fortifications of Berwick, ſet out for York, where he convened a parliament, to conſult about the ſtate of public affairs, and procure a ſubſidy for the defence of the kingdom; but the barons, inſtead of complying with his requeſt, preferred a heavy complaint about the violation of the ordinances, and imputed his late mis-

fortunes to the advice of evil counſellors, whom they now required him to diſplace.

The king, conſcious of his own weakneſs, and afraid of provoking them by his refractory behaviour, was obliged to grant their demands. Hugh d'Eſpenſer, who was now his great favourite, and was become almoſt as obnoxious to the nobility as ever Gaveſton had been, was obliged to abſcond; and his utter diſgrace, as well as that of the lord Beaumont, was only delayed for a time, at the earneſt intreaties of the king. The chancellor, treaſurer, ſheriffs, and other officers, were removed, and their places ſupplied by perſons nominated by the confederate barons.

The conſideration of meaſures for the recovery of Scotland, was deferred till the next parliament, on account of the abſence of the earl of Hereford, and ſeveral other noblemen, who had been taken priſoners at the battle of Bannockburn; and, to remove this impediment, a cartel was immediately eſtabliſhed with the Scots, in conſequence of which the Engliſh were exchanged for the wife, ſiſter, and daughter of Robert de Brus, Donald earl of Mar, Robert biſhop of Glaſgow, Thomas Murray, and ſeveral perſons

perſons of diſtinction, who had been taken in the courſe of the preceeding reign.

Bruce, incenſed at the king of England for having refuſed to acknowledge his title, detached his brother Edward and Sir James Douglas, with a ſtrong body of forces, to invade the northern counties; and accordingly they waſted Northumberland, laid the biſhopric of Durham under contribution, and advanced into Yorkſhire, where they burnt the towns of Appleby, Kirkwold, and other places. At the ſame time another party entered England, by Rediſdale and Tindale, where they committed the like depredations; and not only ſubdued all the country of Gilleſſand, but even compelled the inhabitants to ſwear allegiance to the king of Scotland.

Edward's finances being almoſt exhauſted, he convoked another parliament at Weſtminſter, on the twentieth day of January,* in order to obtain a ſubſidy, and deliberate about the ſtate of the realm, which was now in a moſt wretched condition. The country was not only waſted by the enemy, but oppreſſed by famine; and the parliament perſuaded the king to iſſue an edict againſt the monopolizers of proviſions,

* A. D. 1315.

visions. This ordinance was accordingly published, but was repealed in the following year, because it was found, that, instead of answering the intended purpose, it only increased the scarcity, and heightened the price of victuals.*

To

* The reader, we imagine, will not be displeased to see an account of the prices affixed to the several kinds of provision, by this act of parliament. Two pounds eight shillings, of our present money, for the best ox not fed with corn; if fed with corn, three pounds twelve shillings: a fat hog of two years old, ten shillings: a fat weather unshorn, a crown; if shorn, three shillings and six-pence: a fat goose, seven pence half-penny: a fat capon, six-pence: a fat hen, three-pence: two chickens, three-pence: four pidgeons, three-pence: two dozen of eggs, three-pence. *Rot. Parl.* 7. *Edw.* II. *N.* 35, 36. *Ypod. Neust.* p. 502.

Hence it appears that butchers meat, even in this time of great scarcity, was sold by order of parliament for about one third of the price which it now bears: poultry, somewhat lower, having now risen beyond its due proportion, on account of its being considered as a delicacy; a circumstance which has a great influence in determining the price of provisions; for in the more remote counties of Scotland and Ireland, where delicacies are little regarded, poultry is as cheap, if not cheaper, than butchers meat. But the famine was so severe, that wheat was sometimes sold for about four pounds ten shillings a quarter, and commonly for three pounds, that is, considerably above twice our middling prices.

To render the barons the more complaiſant, the king confirmed the two charters, and even the late ordinances, and appointed commiſſioners to finiſh the perambulation of the foreſts. This expedient had the deſired effect. The parliament, pleaſed with theſe conceſſions, voted a twentieth of moveables; but as this aid was not ſufficient to anſwer the king's neceſſities, he required a loan from all the religious ſocieties in the kingdom, and iſſued writs aſcertaining the ſum which each eſtabliſhment ſhould pay according to their abilities.

Mean while, the Scots having equipped a few privateers, committed great depredations upon the Engliſh ſhips, while their land forces making an irruption into England, laid waſte the biſhopric of Durham.

The king, apprized of theſe hoſtilities, collected ſome troops, and advanced as far as Berwick, from whence he ſent writs to the earl of Lancaſter, and Henry Piercy to attend him at Newcaſtle, with horſe and arms, by the fifteenth day of Auguſt, in order to aſſiſt him in his expedition into Scotland.

The people, however, who had not yet recovered from their conſternation, occaſioned

ſioned by the fatal battle of Bannockburn, paid little regard to this ſummons; and Edward, unable to execute his deſign, repaired the fortifications of ſome of the frontier towns, and then returned to London, leaving the earl of Pembroke his lieutenant on the northern borders.

At the ſame time he empowered Edmund le Botiller, juſticiary of Ireland, to treat with the Iriſh chieftains for a body of forces to aſſiſt in the Scottiſh expedition, which he purpoſed to reſume in the ſpring; but theſe people were ſo far from being willing to comply with his propoſal, that they had actually formed a reſolution to deliver themſelves from the Engliſh yoke.

They had long complained of the many hardſhips they ſuffered under their cruel and mercileſs governours; they had often applied to the court of England for redreſs; but all their petitions had been neglected. Driven, at length, to deſpair by the iron-hand of oppreſſion, they ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Robert de Brus, to deliver them from the Engliſh yoke, and promiſed, in caſe of ſucceſs, to acknowledge him, or his brother Edward, as their lawful ſovereign.

Edward Brus, who was young, brave and ambitious, perſuaded his brother to allow

allow him to attempt the conqueſt of Ireland; and was immediately ſupplied with an army of ſix thouſand men, and a ſufficient number of tranſports. Landing in Ulſter on the twenty-ſixth day of May, he was preſently joined by a great number of the Iriſh, who flocked to his ſtandard from all quarters. Thus reinforced, he reduced Dundalk, waſted Urgyle, and expelled the Engliſh out of Ulſter.

In order to oppoſe this bold invader, the juſticiary collected a body of troops, the command of which he gave to the earl of Ulſter; but theſe were entirely defeated near Coleraine, on the tenth of September. Edward, elated with this victory, inveſted the town of Carrick-Fergus, which he ſoon compelled to ſurrender; and then almoſt all the native Iriſh declared againſt the Engliſh government. Roger de Mortimer having raiſed a conſiderable army, endeavoured to check the progreſs of the Scots; but he he ſuffered a total defeat at Henlis in Meath, with the loſs of the beſt part of his men.

Edward having taken ſeveral places in the neighbourhood, over-ran the whole county of Kildare, before the juſticiary was able to meet him in the field; at length he advanced againſt him, at the head of a ſtrong army

army, and was routed in a general engagement near Skitheries.

Mean while Robert de Brus made an irruption into England, and inveſted the city of Carliſle; but that place was ſo bravely defended by Andrew de Harcla, the governour, that, after having been repulſed in ſeveral aſſaults, he was obliged to abandon the ſiege. Had Robert ſucceeded in this attempt, and Edward effected the conqueſt of Ireland, they would probably have endeavoured to aſſiſt Llewellyn Bren, who had lately raiſed an inſurrection in Wales.

Llewellyn had enjoyed a conſiderable poſt under the late earl of Glouceſter; but being ſtripped of his office, at the death of that nobleman, he was ſo highly incenſed at this affront, (as he conceived it) that he reſolved to exert his utmoſt efforts in drawing the Welch into a rebellion.

He was but too ſucceſsful in his endeavours; for he ſoon collected an army of ten thouſand men, with which he reduced the caſtle of Caerfilly. The earl of Hereford, and the other lords of the Marches, having raiſed their followers, and being joined by a body of troops ſent thither by the king, under the command of W. de Montacute, Llewellyn fled to the mountains,

tains, from whence he poured down upon the detached parties of the Engliſh, which he ſometimes cut off; but at laſt, being ſurrounded on all hands, and ſeeing no probability of eſcaping, he offered to ſubmit upon terms; and, theſe being rejected, ſurrendered at diſcretion.

In order to prevent the like commotions for the future, Edward endeavoured to conciliate the affection of the Welch, by granting them ſome new privileges and immunities. The fines commonly paid by the tenants to their lords, for the marriage of their daughters, were moderated: freeholders were allowed to put their ſons (if they had more than one) into holy orders, without the king's licence; and to alienate their lands, for three years, to any of their own countrymen, except monks and other religious houſes; and orders were given for obſerving the ordinances of Kennington, all over the principality.

Nor was Edward leſs careful in providing for the ſecurity of Ireland. He ſent a commiſſion to John de Hotham, empowering him to raiſe money by the ſale of wardſhips, marriages, and other duties belonging to the crown in that country, in order to enable him to levy an army againſt the Scottiſh invaders; he promiſed

rewards and encouragement to all those who should maintain their allegiance to the English government, and give their assistance in opposing the enemy; and commanded the justiciary to remove all officers that seemed unqualified for their respective posts.

In the month of September, Edward published a writ for expelling all the Flemings out of England, and directed letters to the magistrates of his French dominions, enjoining them to break off all correspondence with that people, because they were considered as rebels to the king of France.

This was done in consequence of an article in the treaty between Edward I. of England, and Philip the Fair of France, who had died in the course of the preceding year, by which the two parties were bound to afford no shelter nor protection to the enemies of each other.

A parliament being assembled at Lincoln on the twenty-seventh day of January,* the king declared that he had called them together, in order to concert the proper measures for reducing the rebels of Scotland; but finding them unwilling to embark

* A. D. 1316.

embark in ſuch an expedition, he iſſued writs, enjoining the ſtrict obſervance of all the ordinances and perambulations; and the barons were ſo well pleaſed with this conceſſion, that they voted a very extraordinary ſupply for the maintenance of the Scottiſh war.

Every village, or hamlet, in the kingdom was ordered to furniſh one ſtout ſoldier well armed and accoutred, and provided with ſubſiſtence for ſixty days, at the end of which he was to be maintained at the expence of his majeſty. Market towns were taxed at a higher rate in proportion to their ſize and ability; but with an expreſs proviſo, that this grant ſhould not be made a precedent for the like demands for the future; and the towns, boroughs, and cities of the royal demeſnes were exempted from the impoſition. The king ordered all the militia of England to attend him at Newcaſtle by the enſuing Midſummer; and to ſupport the charges of the projected expedition, the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes granted a fifteenth of all their moveables.

Edward, conſidering that nothing could contribute more to the ſucceſs of the undertaking, than a perfect harmony and a-

greement between him and his barons, resolved to compromise all differences with the earl of Lancaster, whom he now desired to come and preside in his councils. That nobleman accepted the invitation, and was declared general of all the forces destined for the Scottish expedition; and writs were issued, requiring all persons, who held a knight's fee, or fifty pounds a year in land, to come and receive the honour of knighthood before the Trinity-sunday following.

The clergy, at this parliament, excused themselves from giving any aid on account of the famine which now raged with uncommon violence, and rendered the country one mournful scene of horror, death, and desolation. The wealthiest noblemen were obliged to lay aside their equipages, and dismiss their servants. The highways were filled with robbery and murder; the streets were covered with spectacles of misery and distress. Crouds of wretched and forlorn creatures were seen to die for want of food; and the helpless parents lay expiring in the midst of their tender offspring, who soon shared the same unhappy fate. The prisons were burst open, and the criminals devoured by the furious populace; the dead were consumed by the living;

living; the graves were dug up, and robbed of their inhabitants, to appeaſe the rage of hunger; nay, to ſuch a terrible degree did this calamity prevail, that even the mother was known to deſtroy and feed upon the fruit of her own womb.

It is not to be imagined, that, in theſe dreadful circumſtances, the war could be carried on with any vigour. A few forces were raiſed, and proceeded as far as Newcaſtle, under the command of the earl of Lancaſter; but this army was not ſo much intended to perform any ſervice of importance, as to give weight to a negociation which was now on foot between the two nations.

The earl of Angus, Maurice Berkley, and Richard Horſly, were empowered to conclude a truce with the enemy, and conferences were immediately opened on the ſubject; but the Scots inſiſting on too high terms, and Edward being unwilling to make any conceſſions, the treaty miſcarried, and the ſeaſon for action was entirely loſt.

The rendezvous of the army had been poſtponed till the tenth day of Auguſt, in hopes that matters would have been adjuſted in an amicable manner; and the earl of Lancaſter was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having

favoured Bruce, who did not fail to avail himself of the wretched situation of England. About Midsummer he advanced into Yorkshire, where he ravaged the country for the space of sixty miles, and returned into his own dominions with an immense booty.

Robert, trusting to the weak and infeebled state of England, and the dissentions that prevailed among the great barons, appointed Douglas guardian of the kingdom, and went over to Ireland with an army of thirty thousand men, in order to finish the reduction of that country.

Edward de Brus had been worsted by the justiciary, and obliged to take refuge among the mountains of Ulster, where a famine, similar to that of England, prevented him from extending his conquests. Nevertheless, he had assumed the title of king; maintained the appearance of a court; and even established a form of government, for deciding matters of property; and being now reinforced with such a powerful body of troops, under the command of his brother, he considered the expulsion of the English as a certain event, and accordingly was crowned king of Ireland, at Dundalk.

The

The Scots were aſſiſted by the O Neals, O Connors, and other Iriſh ſepts, who joined them in great numbers; and, thus ſtrengthened, they advanced into the heart of the country: they made an attempt upon Dublin, but were repulſed; and, inſtead of drawing any material advantage from this expedition, they were almoſt entirely deſtroyed by ſickneſs and famine, which was ſo ſevere that they were glad to live upon the fleſh of dogs and horſes; ſo that Robert was obliged to relinquiſh the enterpriſe and return to his own country, leaving his brother ſtill maſter of Ulſter.

It is not likely that a prince of ſo much prudence as Robert, would have engaged in ſuch a ridiculous project, had he not acted in concert with the diſcontented part of the Engliſh barons. It was commonly remarked, that when the Scots invaded the northern counties, they always ſpared the lands of the earl of Lancaſter, who, on that account, was ſuſpected of favouring the views of the Scottiſh king. This ſuſpicion was farther ſtrengthened by his ſubſequent conduct; for he did not attend at the general rendezvous in Auguſt; and his example was followed by all his adherents.

As

As Edward had proceeded as far as Newcaſtle, he was highly incenſed at this inſtance of diſobedience, at a time when he might eaſily have recovered the poſſeſſion of Scotland, while Bruce and his veterans were abſent from the kingdom. He now ſent freſh orders to Lancaſter, and the other barons, to repair to Newcaſtle on the ſixth day of October, and ſummoned all the freeholders to the northward of the Trent, poſſeſſed of lands to the amount of fifty pounds a year and upwards, to attend him with horſe and arms, to proceed in the expedition to Scotland, on pain of forfeiture.

Whether they obeyed or ſlighted this ſummons, hiſtorians have not thought proper to inform us; but it is certain that Edward made ſome attempts upon Scotland, in which, however, he did not ſucceed. He was defeated by Douglas, in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes; and a body of troops which landed in Fife, were repulſed to their ſhips with the loſs of five hundred men.

Edward had taken the croſs a little before the death of his father; and the pope, who was bent upon a cruſade for the recovery of Paleſtine, had granted a year's tenth of all the eccleſiaſtical revenues in the kingdom, for defraying the expence of that expe-

expedition; but as the war with Scotland prevented him from performing his vow, Clement commanded both princes to agree to a truce for two years, on pain of excommunication; and ſent over two cardinals to ſettle the terms of the treaty.*

In another bull he fulminated the ſame cenſure againſt all thoſe who ſhould attack the dominions of Edward, and included Robert de Brus and his brother in that ſentence, unleſs they would deſiſt from hoſtilities.

The nuncios (whoſe names were Gaucelin de Oſſa, and Lucas de Fieſchi) met with a friendly reception from the king at Nottingham, from whence they continued their journey for Scotland, attended by lord Beaumont and his brother, who had lately been raiſed to the ſee of Durham.

When they had advanced as far as Aile, they were attacked and plundered by Gilbert de Middleton, and a party of his adherents, who had, at firſt, taken arms to oppoſe the inroads of the Scots, but had now turned robbers. The two brothers were carried away priſoners; but the legates were permitted to proceed to Durham, where they excommunicated Middleton

* A. D. 1317.

ton, who was afterwards taken and executed as a common robber.

The cardinals, doubtful of the diſpoſition of Bruce, ſent meſſengers to acquaint him of their approach; and theſe returned with an anſwer, importing, that, unleſs they altered the ſuperſcription of their letters to him, and, inſtead of governour, called him king of Scotland, he would neither give them an audience, nor allow them to enter his kingdom.

They endeavoured, however, to execute one part of their commiſſion. They ſent Adam de Newton, guardian of the Franciſcans at Berwick, with the pope's bulls to Robert, who lay with his forces at Old Comus, making the neceſſary preparations for undertaking the ſiege of that fortreſs. Adam was uſed with great civility, as well as on account of his character, as of the ſafe-conduct he had obtained, but was not admitted to an audience, though he proclaimed the truce and the ſentence of excommunication in the middle of the camp, and was allowed to depart without moleſtation.

But before he reached Berwick, he was ſurprized on the road, and ſtripped of his bulls and letters, which were, probably, conveyed to Bruce. The pope, hearing

of

of Robert's obſtinacy, ſent word to the cardinals to publiſh the ſentence of excommunication againſt him and all his adherents, with an interdict on their lands and poſſeſſions; and theſe cenſures were iſſued on the borders in the courſe of the following year, though they did no prejudice to the ſtate of his affairs.

The cardinals were more ſucceſsful in their endeavours to accommodate all differences between the king and the earl of Lancaſter, who ſtill entertained a ſecret grudge againſt each other. The counteſs of Lancaſter had been carried off from her houſe at Caniford in Dorſetſhire, to the caſtle of Ryegate, by a knight, who held of the earl of Surrey.

This cavalier, was a perſon of a moſt deformed figure; lame, hunch-backed, and of a peeviſh and perverſe diſpoſition. He claimed the lady in conſequence of a contract previous to her marriage with the earl; alledged he had cohabited with her as her huſband; and, by an action brought in the king's court at Weſtminſter, demanded the earldoms of Lincoln and Saliſbury, of which ſhe was heireſs.

Such an outrage could not fail to exaſperate the earl of Lancaſter, a prince of the blood royal, the firſt ſubject in England,

land, and a man who was naturally of a haughty and overbearing diſpoſition: but that which gave him the moſt exquiſite pain, was the ſcandalous behaviour of the counteſs, who gloried in her ſhame, and joined in the proſecution.

He conſidered the ugly knight as a mere tool in the hands of the earl of Surrey; and had good reaſon to ſuſpect that the king was concerned in this cruel attempt againſt his honour and his fortune; for when he applied to his majeſty for redreſs, and inſiſted upon his diſcarding from court the authors of this villainous action, Edward replied, that he would not diſplace his ſervants for his pleaſure; but would find a way to puniſh him for his arrogance and preſumption.

Lancaſter inflamed, as might naturally be expected, with the moſt implacable reſentment, reſolved to do himſelf right by force of arms, and with that view collected a body of eighteen thouſand men. The king, conſcious of his own inability to contend with ſuch a powerful antagoniſt, had recourſe to the pope's legates, who interpoſed their good offices with ſo much zeal and ſucceſs, that an accommodation was effected to the ſeeming ſatisfaction of both parties. At the ſame time, they

adviſed

adviſed him to appeaſe the diſcontents of the people, by confirming the ordinances, and the two charters, without thoſe ſalvos for the prerogative, which were found to deſtroy the effect of theſe ſalutary inſtitutions.

He amuſed them with a general anſwer, and ſummoned a parliament to meet at Lincoln on the twenty-ſeventh day of January,* when he aſſured the cardinals he would redreſs all the grievances of his ſubjects; and the legates, who were equally ignorant of the king's character, and of the Engliſh conſtitution, were highly charmed with this mark of his condeſcention.†

* A. D. 1318.

† About this time there ſtarted up a pretender to the crown, who alledged, that he was the true ſon of Edward I. but that he had been ſtolen away in his infancy, and his preſent majeſty ſubſtituted in his ſtead. Upon making this declaration at Oxford, he was committed to priſon by the chancellor of the univerſity; and, being afterward removed to Northampton, was tried, condemned, and executed.

Soon after, while the king was one day dining in public in Weſtminſter-hall, a woman in a maſk came on horſeback, and delivered him a letter. Edward, deſirous of knowing the contents, gave orders for reading it aloud. But he was equally ſurpriſed and enraged, when he heard himſelf reproached with cowardice,

They endeavoured, though in vain, to enact ſome cannons in favour of the papal power, and even inſinuated that a bull would ſoon be publiſhed for prohibiting pluralities, and conferring upon his holineſs the right of preſenting to benefices; but, finding the whole nation was determined to oppoſe ſuch a meaſure, they returned to Italy, after having iſſued a ſentence of excommunication and interdict againſt the king and kingdom of Scotland.

Bruce, regardleſs of theſe cenſures, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Berwick, which he is ſaid to have reduced by bribing the governour. Being thus become maſter of that important fortreſs, he ravaged the county of Northumberland, where he ſurprized the caſtles of Werk, Harbottle and Medford; and, returning home with a large booty, detached Douglas with a ſtrong

cowardice, tyranny, oppreſſion, and all the evils introduced in his reign. The woman being ſeized and examined, declared that ſhe had been employed by a certain knight, who inſtantly made his appearance, and, inſtead of denying, avowed and juſtified the action; and Edward was ſo conſcious of his own guilt, and ſo little able to maintain the dignity of his character, that he was obliged to ſmother his reſentment, and allow the knight to eſcape unpuniſhed.

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That nobleman advanced into Yorkſhire, where he burnt the towns of Northallerton and Boroughbridge, and obliged the inhabitants of Rippon to purchaſe their ſafety by paying a large ſum of money. Then penetrating farther into England than they had ever done before, they reduced Scarborough and Shipton to aſhes, and thus laden with plunder, and enriched with ſeveral priſoners of note, they marched back to their own country.

Edward had ſuffered ſo ſeverely by his diſſenſions with the earl of Lancaſter, that he now reſolved, if poſſible, to accommodate all his differences with that nobleman, and a treaty for that purpoſe was immediately ſet on foot; the parliament was prorogued to the month of July, and the place changed to Northampton.

The king, however, was extremely unwilling to confirm the ordinances, and Lancaſter would liſten to no terms until that article ſhould be granted. This negociation, in all probability, would have proved abortive, had not the invaſion of the Scots ſtruck the king with ſuch a pannic, that he was glad to compromiſe the diſpute

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in whatever manner the barons thought proper.

He accordingly agreed to confirm the ordinances, and consented to a provision, by which eight bishops, four earls, and as many barons, should be appointed for his standing council; two of the first order, and one of each of the others to attend quarterly in their turns, to assist the king with their advice in all his measures, during the intervals of parliament.

It was stipulated that Lancaster, and his adherents, should have a full and free pardon for all the misdemeanours of which they might have been guilty; and that he should release and acquit all persons who had done him injury, excepting such suits and actions as depended between him and the earl of Surrey. Several bishops, earls, and barons, undertook for the execution of these articles, which were signed on the ninth day of August, and afterwards confirmed in parliament.

Matters being thus happily adjusted, the king had an interview with Lancaster, at Hathern in Leicestershire, and that nobleman was reconciled to the earl of Surrey: Hugh d'Espenser, the elder, retired from court; and Edward was left entirely in the hands

hands of the barons, who now conducted the affairs of the nation.

As Edward was determined to resume the prosecution of the Scottish war, he repaired to York, where, on the twentieth day of October, he convoked a parliament, in which the late agreement and pardon were ratified and confirmed; and here he received the agreeable news of a complete victory obtained by his forces, over Edward de Brus in Ireland.

The archbishop of Dublin having been appointed justiciary of that kingdom, had constituted John Bermingham general of the English army, which was greatly reinforced by a strong body of troops from England. Bruce was still in Ulster, and his brother Robert advised him not to abandon that advantageous post, nor venture a general engagement, until he should come to his assistance with a fresh body of forces.

Edward was too headstrong and impetuous to follow this prudent advice; he was desirous of engrossing the whole glory of conquering Ireland, and, resolving to signalize himself by some important stroke, before the arrival of his brother, he advanced against the English, at the head of a small body, not exceeding six thousand men.

But he was made to pay dearly for his raſhneſs; he was attacked by the Engliſh, in the neighbourhood of Dundalk, with ſuch fury and impetuoſity, that, after a gallant reſiſtance, his forces were totally routed, and himſelf ſlain in the engagement.

The king was no ſooner informed of the defeat and death of Edward de Brus, than he reſolved to take advantage of the conſternation of the enemy, by marching directly into Scotland. With this view he collected a large body of troops, and a good number of ſhips to ſupply them with proviſions; but as the barons were unwilling to undertake an expedition in the winter ſeaſon, and the clergy refuſed to grant a ſubſidy without the pope's permiſſion, he was obliged to delay his deſign till the enſuing ſpring.

Mean while he ſent Hugh d'Eſpenſer to the court of Rome, to procure a licence from his holineſs, and to complain of the partiality and favour which he ſhewed to the Scots, who were encouraged to expect a mitigation of the cenſures that had been iſſued againſt them.

He likewiſe ſent deputies to the earl of Flanders, and his other allies on the Continent, to remonſtrate againſt the countenance

nance and protection which they afforded to the ſubjects of Robert de Brus, whom they did not ſcruple to acknowledge as an independent ſovereign. But, notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances, Robert's title was now recognized, and his perſon and character eſteemed and admired by the greateſt princes of Europe.

In a parliament, which was aſſembled at York, about a month after Eaſter,* the earls and barons gave an eighteenth of their rents; the cities and boroughs granted a twelfth of their effects; and the clergy agreed to a tenth of their revenues, having, by this time, obtained the pope's permiſſion.

The troops were ordered to rendezvous at Newcaſtle, by the tenth day of June; and all the military tenants of the crown were ſummoned to repair thither, with horſe and arms: the earls of Lancaſter, Warrenne, Pembroke, Arundel, and Hereford, with the co-heirs of the late earl of Glouceſter, and a great number of barons, attended with their followers; and, as the king had promiſed to every ſoldier all the booty he ſhould take to the amount of one hundred pounds, an incredible number

* A. D. 1319.

number of infantry convened at the time and place appointed.

In the month of July, Edward putting himself at the head of this formidable army, advanced towards Berwick, which he invested by land, whilst the fleet of the Cinque-Ports blocked up the harbour so as to prevent the garrison and citizens from receiving any supplies of men or provision.

The siege was pushed with great vigour and resolution, and the place was defended with no less bravery by the great steward of Scotland, son-in-law of Robert de Brus, who withstood several furious assaults, in one of which the English had actually mounted the ramparts.

The besiegers were placed in such an advantageous situation, that Robert durst not attempt to force their entrenchments; and he therefore resolved to continue his depredations in Yorkshire, hoping, by that means, to make them relinquish their enterprize.

Mean while, the queen resided in a village near York, in the greatest security, little apprehensive of any danger from the Scots, who, she imagined, were too much employed in the defence of their

their own country, to think of making an incurſion into England.

Robert formed a plot for ſurprizing this princeſs; and the lord Douglas being entruſted with the execution, advanced at the head of a choſen body of men, with ſo much ſecrecy and expedition, that the attempt would probably have ſucceeded, had it not been for an unforeſeen accident. One of his ſpies being ſeized at York, was put to the torture, and diſcovered the whole ſecret, in conſequence of which, the queen was removed to York, and from thence conducted to Nottingham as a place of greater ſafety.

The archbiſhop of York conſidering that the enemy were ſtill ignorant of the late diſcovery, reſolved, if poſſible, to ſurprize them in his turn. With that view, he collected his tenants, vaſſals, and clergy, to the number of ten thouſand, and, on the twentieth of September, marched ſilently towards Mitton on the Swale, where, he was aſſured by the ſpy, the Scots intended to fix their quarters on that day.

He hoped he ſhould be able to come upon them unawares; but he was diſappointed. Douglas had already received intelligence of his approach, and drawn up his men in order of battle; and as the

Engliſh advanced with the wind in their faces, he ordered a great quantity of wet ſtraw to be ſet on fire, the ſmoke of which blinding their eyes, and the diſagreeable ſmell annoying their ſenſes, he ruſhed upon them with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that they were immedtately routed, three thouſand of them being killed upon the ſpot, or drowned in the river.

The king, informed of this diſaſter, raiſed the ſiege of Berwick, and, dividing his army into two bodies, endeavoured to intercept the enemy in their retreat; but Douglas, who was well acquainted with all the defiles and private paſſes, eluded the ſnare, and returned to his own country with an immenſe booty.

The miſcarriage at Berwick gave great diſcontent to the whole body of the nation. The ſiege had been carried on with ſuch unremitted vigour, that it was generally ſuppoſed the place would ſoon be ſurrendered, or taken by force, when the king happened to ſay he would commit the government of the caſtle to Hugh d'Eſpenſer, and that of the town to Roger Damory.

The barons were ſo highly diſſatisfied with this declaration, that they began to abate of their efforts; and a great num-

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ber abandoned the enterprize, with the earl of Lancaſter, who, on that account, was branded as a traitor. There were even ſome people hardy enough to affirm, that he had concerted the plot for ſurprizing the queen, and that Robert de Brus had debauched him from his allegiance to his ſovereign, by a bribe of forty thouſand pounds.

Lancaſter, enraged at theſe injurious aſperſions, applied to the king, and offered to aſſert his innocence in ſingle combat againſt any perſon that ſhould dare to accuſe him of theſe crimes; but this offer did not remove the ſuſpicion, though nobody accepted the challenge.

The northern counties were now ſo exhauſted by the continual incurſions and depredations of the enemy, that the Scots had nothing to expect from another invaſion, and the Engliſh themſelves were ſo harraſſed and fatigued by the long continuance of the war, that both people began ſeriouſly to think of a peace. Safe-conducts were accordingly granted to ten Scottiſh deputies, who repaired to Newcaſtle to treat with the Engliſh commiſſioners; and after long debates and altercations, a truce was concluded for two years, to the great joy of Edward, who, to indemnify

demnify his northern ſubjects for the loſſes they had ſuſtained, excuſed them from the tenth which they had formerly agreed to pay.

Edward had done no homage to the crown of France from the time of Philip the Fair: Lewis Hutin had admitted his excuſes; but Philip le Long having ſummoned him to ſwear fealty for Ponthieu, had ſeized that province on account of his non-compliance. Being now, however, at peace with Scotland, and the kingdom enjoying a perfect tranquillity, he reſolved to obey the ſummons, and accordingly having appointed Aymer, earl of Pembroke, guardian of the realm, he ſet ſail for France, under the protection of a ſafe-conduct, which he had obtained from Philip.*

Having performed the uſual homage for Guienne and Ponthieu, the laſt of which was reſtored to him upon his taking the oath, he returned to England, and aſſembled a parliament at Weſtminſter, in the beginning of October. All the great lords attended, except the earl of Lancaſter, who ſent proxies, with his excuſe; and ſeveral ordinances were made for reform-

ing

* A. D. 1320.

ing the diſorders which had long prevailed, eſpecially in the weſtern counties.

The common people had formed unlawful confederacies and aſſociations, overawing juries, extorting verdicts, obſtructing the adminiſtration of juſtice, robbing parks, burning houſes, and murdering individuals, with equal wantonneſs and impunity; and a law was now made for inflicting condign puniſhment upon all who committed or encouraged theſe enormities.

There was another reſolution taken in this parliament, which is no leſs worthy of commendation. The Flemings had hitherto ſupplied the Scots with arms and proviſions, notwithſtanding their being in alliance with the Engliſh nation, and in contempt of the repeated remonſtrances againſt that unfair practice. They had even attacked and plundered ſome Engliſh ſhips; and all the ſteps taken to procure redreſs of theſe grievances, had hitherto proved abortive.

This affair being brought before the parliament, it was unanimouſly reſolved that the king of England was lord of the Britiſh ſeas; that all goods and merchandize taken from the Engliſh within theſe ſeas, ought to be conſidered as taken within the realm; and the captors tried by the king's juſtices;

that ſuits about theſe depredations ſhould be determined according to law and reaſon; and that all perſons concerned in ſuch depredations, and knowingly receiving the prize goods, either in whole or in part, ſhould be charged and puniſhed accordingly.

The Scots had writ a ſenſible and pathetic letter to the pope, explaining the nature of the quarrel between them and the Engliſh, and beſeeching him not only to remove the cenſure denounced againſt them, but alſo to uſe his influence with Edward in putting an end to that bloody and deſtructive war, which had raged ſo long to the ruin of both nations.

Though the pope did not think proper to grant the former part of their petition, he ſent a bull to the king of England, adviſing him to reſtore peace to the iſland. In compliance with this advice, Edward appointed the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Carliſle, Robert Baldock archdeacon of Middleſex, and Geoffry Scroop, as his commiſſioners, to treat with the Scottiſh deputies, about an accommodation. The king of France demanded that his ambaſſadors might be preſent at the conferences; but Edward, who ſuſpected Philip to be a ſecret friend of Robert de Brus, refuſed to

comply

comply with his requeſt, and the negociation proved abortive.

The populace of London had lately been guilty of many enormities. They had raiſed ſeveral tumults and riots, on account of being unequally aſſeſſed; and, in one of their inſurrections, they had killed a Lombard. As the magiſtrates were ſuſpected of having connived at theſe diſorders, a commiſſion was given to ſome itinerant juſtices to hold a court in the Tower, and try the offenders.* The mayoralty was ſeized into the hands of the king, and Robert de Kendal was appointed guardian of the city.

Though the liberties were ſoon reſtored, and Hamon de Chigwell choſen mayor, this affair occaſioned a great deal of ill blood among the citizens. They conſidered their being ſummoned to the Tower, as a violation of their privileges; and this, with all their other grievances, they imputed to the evil advice of the two d'Eſpenſers, againſt whom therefore they conceived the moſt implacable hatred.

Theſe two miniſters, indeed, were now become obnoxious to the whole nation. The father was a man of great courage,

* A. D. 1321.

prudence, and integrity, and had paſſed through all the ſcenes of life to the ninetieth year of his age, with an unblemiſhed character. His greateſt, if not his only fault, was his blind attachment to his ſon, who reſembled Gaveſton not more in his perſonal accompliſhments, than in his pride, arrogance, and ambition. He had firſt been thruſt into the office of chamberlain of the houſhold, by the earl of Lancaſter; in which ſtation he behaved with ſo much politeneſs and addreſs, and with ſuch an implicit obedience to all the king's commands, that he at laſt gained the ſame aſcendency over him, which Gaveſton had formerly enjoyed.

Having thus inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of his ſovereign, he began to forget his original benefactors, and treat the greateſt and moſt potent of the nobility, with the moſt unſufferable indifference, and the moſt ſupercilious contempt. Poſſeſſed of the ſupreme direction of public affairs, he endeavoured to exalt his own power and fortune, upon the ruins of all thoſe with whom he had any connexion.

He had married Eleanor, one of the coheireſſes of Gilbert de Clare, late earl of Glouceſter, and, in virtue of this marriage, enjoyed the greateſt part of Glamorganſhire; but,

but, ſtill unſatisfied with this large eſtate, he encroached upon the ſhares of his wife's two ſiſters, and even devoured, in imagination, all the lands in the neighbourhood.

He ſeized the caſtle of Newport from Hugh de Audely, who had married one of his ſiſters-in-law; and afterwards compelled him to grant a conveyance confirming his poſſeſſion: he likewiſe perſuaded the king to reſume the grants of ſome caſtles he had given to Roger de Mortimer, and beſtow them upon him.

But the moſt exceptionable part of his conduct, and that which drew upon him the wrath and reſentment of the barons, was his diſpute with John de Mowbray, who had married Aliva, daughter of William de Braouſe, lord of Gower. William had, by a ſpecial deed, granted the lands and honour of Gower to his daughter Aliva, and his ſon-in-law Mowbray, and to the heirs of their bodies lawfully begotten, with the remainder to Humphry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, and his heirs.

In virtue of this grant, Mowbray had entered upon the poſſeſſion of the eſtate, without a licence from the king, of whom it was held in capite; and this omiſſion furniſhed d'Eſpenſer with a plauſible pre-

text for ſuing Mowbray, and procuring a ſentence by which the lands were forfeited.

The lords of the Marches, alarmed at this violation of their privileges, reſolved to humble the pride of this inſolent minion, with whoſe inſatiable avarice they were all well acquainted, and whoſe power and influence they had all reaſon to dread. Hugh d'Audeley was deſirous of recovering his caſtle of Newport; Roger Damory, who had married Elizabeth, the third co-heireſs of Glouceſter, had either ſuffered or apprehended the like injuſtice; Roger de Mortimer of Chirke, and his nephew, Roger of Wigmore, reſented the loſs of their caſtles; John de Mowbray, and the earl of Hereford, were highly incenſed againſt him for ſeizing the lands of Gower; Roger de Clifford was provoked at the bad treatment his mother had received in a diſpute between her and d'Eſpenſer, about the eſtate of her nephew Thomas de Clare; the other barons of the marches foreſaw that what had been the fate of theſe noblemen, would, one day, prove their own caſe, ſhould d'Eſpenſer be allowed to proceed in the ſame arbitrary and deſpotic manner; and all of them reſolved to exert their joint efforts in effecting the

ruin

ruin of that haughty and rapacious favourite.

Unable, however, as they were, to procure redress in a legal way, they determined to take vengeance upon him by force of arms, and applied to the earl of Lancaster for assistance, which they easily obtained. Encouraged by this addition of strength, they began to hold consultation in different places, to concert the proper measures for carrying their scheme into execution, notwithstanding the express orders of his majesty, prohibiting such seditious meetings.

At length, they took the field at the head of ten thousand men, and sent a message to the king, insisting upon Hugh d'Espenser's being immediately dismissed from court, or committed to prison, in order to stand his trial, and answer to the crimes and misdemeanours laid to his charge, and threatening, in case of refusal, to renounce their allegiance, and inflict condign punishment upon the culprit by their own authority.

Edward, alarmed at these menaces, repaired to Gloucester, where he summoned the malecontents to meet him; but they refused to obey the summons. Then he proceeded to Bristol, in order to provide for the defence of those parts, and, if possible, suppres

preſs the rebellion in its infancy. But finding that he had not a force ſufficient for that purpoſe, he was obliged to content himſelf with reducing the caſtle of Briavel belonging to Roger Damory, and ordering the lands of Hugh d'Audely to be confiſcated.

He no ſooner ſet out on his return for London, than the barons commenced hoſtilities, and inveſted the caſtle of Newport, which they ſoon took, and delivered to the right owner. They proceeded with the ſame eaſe in reducing all the fortreſſes belonging to Hugh d'Eſpenſer; and, meeting with no oppoſition, laid waſte his whole eſtate in Glamorganſhire, killed his ſervants, burnt his houſes, deſtroyed his parks, carried off his cattle, and committed ſuch a terrible havock and devaſtation, that the loſs is ſaid to have amounted to more than twenty thouſand pounds.

The End of the TWELFTH VOLUME.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

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